MILESTONES

ON MY LONG JOURNEY

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MEMORIES OF A COLONIAL GOVERNOR

BY

SIR CHARLES BRUCE, G.C.M.G.

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IN LOYAL DEVOTION TO

THEIR MAJESTIES

KING GEORGE V & QUEEN MARY

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FOREWORD

For the purposes of my Introductory Chapter, I have availed myself of Notes drawn up by my father between 1860 and 1869, the year after my marriage and my entering the Colonial Service. My aim has been to trace the evolution of the social environment of my home life at that time, and for this reason I have refrained from carrying the narrative beyond the day of my passing into a new social environment.

In the first part of my work I have given a brief summary of my Colonial Service from 1868 to 1903.

In the second part I have recorded my return to the environment of my youth, and my experiences in advocacy of an Imperial policy based on the reciprocity of interests in the two environments. I have preached the faith that if one member of the Imperial body-politic suffer, all the members suffer with it.

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INTRODUCTORY

NOTES RELATIVE TO MY FAMILY

THE BRUCES OF BLAIRHALL, KINROSS AND ARNOT

Recorded from time to time from the year 1860 *to* 1869
by my father, Thomas Bruce of Arnot

I

DEBRETT, in his *Peerage*, under the title "Elgin," states that *Edward Bruce of Blairhall*, sixth in descent from Robert of Germanyston, described by King David II in 1359 as "dilectus consanguineus," left three sons, viz., *Robert*, ancestor of the Bruces of Blairhall, extinct; *Edward*, ancestor of the Earls of Elgin and Ailesbury; and *George* of Carnock, ancestor of the Earls of Kincardine. But while a Bruce of Arnot exists it cannot be said that there is no representative of the Bruces of Blairhall—although in the female line—loyalty to our Queen and to her Royal progeny forbid it! On the death of the third Earl of Kincardine in November 1705, his Titles, after a long suit

before the Scotch Parliament and Court of Session, devolved on his kinsman Alexander, who had married Christian, daughter of *Robert Bruce of Blairhall*, which *Robert* was also father of *Sir William Bruce* of Balcaskie, afterwards of Kinross and Arnot, my great-great-great-grandfather. In a document in the Arnot Charter Chest described as "an extract of the blazoning of the Coat Armoriall appertaining to the Right Worshipfull Sir William Bruce of Balcaskie," dated 1675, and by "Lyon King of Armes," Sir William is stated to be "a second sone of the Familie of Blairhall, which Familie is lineallie descended of the house of Clackmannan." He is similarly described in Douglas's *Baronage and Peerage* and other genealogical works, as well as in numerous family records. His sister Christian, Countess of Kincardine above referred to, is also mentioned in various documents in the Charter Chest. Her name and signature appear in a "Band" in Settlement executed by Sir William in 1709, the year before his death, in favour of the "Lady Christian Bruce, my Niece, Daughter to Alexander Earle of Kincardine and Dame Christian Bruce my Sister German." There are also two other "Bands" of the same period in favour of two other nieces, the Ladies Marie and Helen, who, as well as the Lady Christian, signed their receipts for the money thus

left to them at "Brumhall,"[1] as it was then spelt. Among our family portraits is one of Lady Kincardine.

Sir William was the second son of the third "Baron" (I use the language and titles of the period as applied to the "minor Barons") of Blairhall by his wife Jean (or Catherine, for she is sometimes so called), a daughter of Sir John Preston of Valleyfield. Sir William's elder brother, Sir Thomas, succeeded to the Barony, Sir Thomas being succeeded by his second son. But the latter dying unmarried, the Barony, as Debrett says, became extinct. The destination of the property I know not. Although Debrett describes his first Sir Robert as "of Germanyston," it would have been more correct to designate him as "of Clackmannan," Germanyston having been included in the grant of Clackmannan in 1359, as appears from "a Pedigree of the House of Clackmannan" in the Charter Chest, which quotes the Charter, and the family always bore that designation. It is this family from which, in the "Armoriall Blazoning" before referred to, "the Blairhall Familie is said to be lineallie descended." Hence it is that the portrait of the famous Duchess of Lauderdale (said to be by Sir Peter Lely) comes to be in our possession. She was the elder daughter

[1] Broomhall.

and heiress of the first Earl of Dysart, his mother being a daughter of the House of Clackmannan. She married, first, Sir Lionel Tolmache, Bart., after whose death she was created Countess of Dysart; and secondly, in 1671, the Duke of Lauderdale. By her first marriage she had several children, the eldest of whom, Lionel, succeeded his mother as Earl of Dysart. By her second marriage she had no family, and his Grace dying without male issue, the Dukedom became extinct.

Sir William Bruce was created a Baronet in 1668. In 1665 he had acquired the Estate of Balcaskie, in Fifeshire, now the property of Sir Robert Anstruther, Bart., and in 1675 he purchased the Estate and Barony of Kinross, or Lochleven as it was then sometimes called, from William Earl of Mortoun—"the Estate being almost intirely wood sett by the Erles of Mortoun to several creditors for sommes of monie borrowed by them near to the value of the whole Estate."[1]

In 1684 he sold Balcaskie to Sir Thomas Stewart of the Grantully family.

Sir William married, first, Mary, daughter of Sir James Halket of Pitfirrane, by whom he had several children, two only of whom survived him, viz., Sir John, his heir, and Anna, of both of

[1] Narrative of the Transactions betwixt Sir W. Bruce and the Earl (Arnot Charter Chest).

whom hereafter. He married, secondly, "Dame Magdalene Scott," but by her had no family. She is described in a Register of the Contract of Marriage as lawful daughter of the "deceast David Scott, brother to the Laird of Gallowshills, and Relict of Umquhill George Clerk, Junior, Merchant Burgess of Edinburgh."

The following extracts from Douglas's *Baronage* refer to Sir William: "He was a man of extraordinary parts, a steady loyalist, a firm and constant friend of the Royal Family. He was too young to have been very active in the troublesome reign of King Charles I, but no gentleman in a private capacity contributed more to bring about the restoration of his son than Sir William. Being of a fine address he found means to get acquainted with General Monk, to whom, 'tis said that he painted the distress and distractions of our country, and the glory that would be acquired in restoring the Royal Family, in such lively colours that the General at last opened his mind to him and signified his intention to serve the King, but that their measures were to be carried on with the utmost caution and secrecy. These joyful tidings Sir William had the honour to communicate to the King. The happy consequences thereof are so well known to everybody that we need insist no farther on them here. The King did not fail to

remember his faithful services, and immediately after his restoration he appointed him Clerk to the Bills, anno 1660, a very beneficial office in those days." (to him?)

"As he was by far the best Architect of his time he was made Master of the King's Works, and contrived and finished the stately palace of Holyrood House as it now stands."

Having acquired from the Earl of Morton the Lands and Barony of Kinross, he was ever after designated by that title. He then built a fine seat, of which a Scottish historian wrote, in 1710, that "for situation, contrivance, prospects, avenues, courts, gardens, gravel walks and terraces, and all hortulane ornaments, parks and planting, it is surpassed by few in this country." He lived to a great age, died anno 1709, and was succeeded by his son (Sir John). The following Commissions granted by Charles II to Sir William Bruce and having the Great Seal are in the Charter Chest:

As Clerk of Supply to the Lords of Council and Session to collect the sums imposed on persons bringing actions into the Court of Session and payable to the King particularly in virtue of the Act of 4th September 1662, &c. Dated 26th May 1665.

As Collector or Governor of Taxes imposed by

Act 23rd January 1667, for payment of the Forces, &c. Dated 12th May 1667.

As Superintendent and Overseer of the Palaces of Holyrood and others within the kingdoms of Scotland, France and Ireland. Dated 3rd June 1667.

In 1681 Sir William was enrolled as Commissioner in Parliament for the Shire of Kinross.

Some of the modern Scottish Guide Books state that Kinross House was built by Sir William for the Duke of York. This, however, is a mistake, whence originating I cannot imagine. It was built, as Douglas says, for the family seat, and still bears in various places externally Sir William's arms, crest and monogram. Until it was ready to receive them, the family occupied the old house of Lochleven, as it was called. And from that time until the time of my grandmother, when the Estate passed into other hands under the circumstances described farther on, it was the family residence.

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The old ancestral and other portraits now in my possession, the old china and other relics of the Bruces and Hopes, all came from Kinross House, and I may here observe that, with two or three exceptions specially referred to farther on, the names of the persons they represent were written

on the backs of the whole of the portraits when I acquired them. But many of them having been cleaned and the canvas renewed, I have had the names painted on the fronts of the pictures—of most of them at least.

I have no actual record that Sir William was interred in the family vault in the old burial ground at Kinross,[1] but there is no doubt on the subject. Family and local tradition says that he and his successors were all buried there, the first break having occurred when my father was buried near Clifton, and this is quite borne out by what I saw during the restoration of the vault in memory of her who was taken from me in 1859, as her last earthly resting place and mine. On that occasion a large number of coffins were exposed to view, the older ones in outer shells cut out of solid blocks of stone, and on several the inscriptions were quite legible, but not on all. The coffins in the best state of preservation were those of my father's brother, his father and mother and his grandfather, Sir John Bruce Hope. They are all under the pavement of the vault as renewed.

The vault is said to have originally been under the centre aisle of the Old Parish Church long ago removed, but still extant when Sibbald wrote, viz., in 1710. Its position in the very centre of the

[1] The Parish Registers of the period are not forthcoming.

burial ground renders this more than probable, and it is still spoken of, and is described in a recent lithographed plan of the burial ground as "the Aisle." Above the former entrance to it was a stone bearing the date 1675, the year in which Sir William purchased the Estate of Kinross. This stone is now above the door, inside the vault. And on the outside, in the gable, above the door, I have placed two stones bearing the following inscriptions:

On the upper one— Extructum: 1675.

On the other— In Memoriam H. B. Refectum 1860.

in the old English character.

We have two portraits of Sir William—one taken when he was comparatively a young man, the other in old age. In the former he appears with a crayon in his hand, referring, probably, to his Office of King's Architect. As might be assumed from all we know of him, he seems to have been very intellectual looking and also very handsome—which his wife Mary Halket, if we may judge from her portrait, was not. The earlier portrait of Sir William is by M. Wright, and bears the date 1665; the other by Sir John Medina, whose initials it bears.

As already observed, Sir William was succeeded by his (only surviving) son Sir John, of whom Douglas says: "Sir John Bruce of Kinross was also a man of parts, and as he had got a liberal education was looked upon as one of the finest gentlemen in the Kingdom when he returned from his travels." He married Lady Christian Leslie, daughter of John Duke of Rothes, Dowager of James, third Marquis of Montrose; but dying without issue the Baronetship went to his cousin and heir male "Sir Alexander Bruce, second son of the fourth Baron of Blairhall, who dying unmarried these honours became extinct." And so ended the Bruce Baronetcy.

Sir John's marriage with the Marchioness took place in 1687,[1] the Marquis having died in 1683. We have a portrait of Sir John as a young man by Sir John Medina, and there is another taken in later life at Leslie House. We have also portraits of his wife and of her first husband, and one of the Duchess of Rothes—daughter of the Earl of Crauford.

On the death of Sir John, the Baronetcy, as stated above, went to his cousin Alexander, but the Estates of Kinross and Arnot devolved upon his sister Anna, who in 1679 had married Sir Thomas Hope, fourth Baronet of Craighall.[1]

[1] Marriage Contract in A.C.C.

By this marriage there were three sons, two of whom died unmarried after succeeding to the Baronetcy, viz., William, fifth Baronet, who, dying before his mother, succeeded to the Craighall property only ; and Thomas Bruce of Craighall, Kinross and Arnot, sixth Baronet. The third son, John Bruce, succeeded his brother Sir Thomas as seventh Baronet, but only to the Estates of Kinross and Arnot, his brother, the sixth Baronet, having sold Craighall to his cousin Charles, first Earl of Hopetoun.

Sir John married, first, his cousin Charlotte, daughter of Sir Charles Halket of Pitfirrane, by whom he had five sons, all of whom he outlived.

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By his second marriage with Mariamne Denune of Catboll, the representative of an old Rossshire family, Sir John had a son John and a daughter Anna, but he outlived the former, as he had outlived his five sons by the previous marriage. His daughter Anna, of whom more hereafter, was my grandmother—my father's mother. Lady Hope's elder sister, Christian, married James Hepburn Congalton of that Ilk.

Sir John died in 1766, aged 82, a Lieutenant-General in the Army. We have a very good portrait of him in his General's uniform, and a gold-headed cane, said to have been his companion

in Marlborough's wars, is one of the relics which have come down to us. In the Charter Chest are many of his Army Commissions, and letters to him from various eminent and distinguished persons. From the former he appears to have been in various regiments, both Cavalry and Infantry, including the Grenadier Guards and the "Horse Grenadiers." He also served in the Army of the King of Sweden, and was at one time Governor of the Bermudas, where his first wife died. He was Member of Parliament for Kinross-shire.

On the death of Sir John the Baronetcy of Craighall devolved upon his cousin, Thomas of Rankeillor, a grandson of John, second Baronet, now represented by Sir Archibald Hope of Craighall, twelfth Baronet. The original Craighall Estate was sold, as incidentally mentioned above, by Sir Thomas, the sixth Baronet, to the first Earl of Hopetoun in 1729. But only a small part of it is now in the Hope family, viz., one farm belonging to Sir Archibald and another to Mr. Hope of Rankeillor and Luffness.

Our family portraits comprise three of the first seven Baronets of Craighall. But of these the most valuable, as well as that of the most historical interest, is the portrait of Sir Thomas, first Baronet, painted by Jameson, called sometimes the Scottish Vandyke—being one of the two portraits by that

artist mentioned by Sir Thomas himself in his *Diary* printed for the Bannatyne Club in 1843. The other is at Pinkie, and here, before going on with the history of his descendants, I may appropriately go back to the original of the two portraits himself—the ancestor of all the families of the name in Scotland, as well as of most of those now settled in England, and of our own. He was great-grandson of John de Hope, who came from France in the retinue of Magdalen, Queen of James V., anno 1537, his younger brother Harry being the ancestor of the Hopes of Amsterdam. Adopting as my own the words of the Bannatyne Club in their Preface to the *Diary* before referred to, I may say that Sir Thomas "was a person of too great celebrity and distinction in his own age, to make it necessary in this place to give any account of his life or character either as a lawyer or a statesman."

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By his marriage with Elizabeth, daughter of John Binning, Esq. of Wallyford, in Midlothian, Sir Thomas had fourteen children, three of whom he lived to see Judges of Session, and having occasionally in the course of his duties as Lord-Advocate to plead before them, he was permitted by His Majesty to do so covered. Hence the privilege the Lords Advocate are said still to

possess—although fallen into desuetude—of pleading before the Court of Session covered. Hence also it is that in the two portraits referred to above, as in others also, Sir Thomas, although in his Robes, appears wearing a black velvet scull-cap, surmounted with a band of white lace.

Sir Thomas died in 1646, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Sir John, more generally known as Lord Craighall, from his title as a Lord of Session. The Hopetoun branch of the family is descended from his sixth son, whose grandson Charles was created a Peer in 1703.

Having thus disposed of the Baronetcies of Kinross and Craighall, and traced the Estate of Craighall down to the present time, we now proceed with the somewhat eventful story of the Estate of Kinross and the more prosaic narrative connected with Arnot.

These two Estates, entailed separately and at different times by Sir William Bruce, had descended together until the death of Sir John Bruce Hope, whose daughter Anna was considered and believed herself to be the heiress of both. The family appear to have lived in considerable state, the heiress travelling between Kinross and Edinburgh in her father's "Coach and six"; and she had many suitors, the Duke of Richmond being one of those whose hand she is said to have

rejected. But before her father's death it was discovered that the destination of the two Estates was no longer to be the same; that Anna succeeded to Arnot alone, the succession to which was limited to the issue of the marriage of Sir William's daughter Anna with Sir Thomas Hope, and their heirs of line; but that Kinross went to that Anna's heirs male, and that she, after her husband Sir Thomas's death, having contracted a second marriage with Sir John Carstairs of Kilconquhar, by whom she had an only son, that son, James Carstairs Bruce, and not my grandmother, was the heir of Entail of Kinross, which accordingly reverted to him—but not the personal property. And hence it is that, although "heir of line" both of the Hopes and Bruces, I succeeded (after my father) only to the Estate of Arnot, and yet possess so many of the ancestral and other portraits of both families, and of the other objects of historical and family interest mentioned in this narrative.

But we have not yet done with Kinross—for my father's sake and my own, would that it had been otherwise! It was sold in 1777 by Mr. Carstairs Bruce, after obtaining an Act of Parliament to enable him to do so, on the ground that the Estate was overburdened with debt. It was provided by the Act, however, that after payment

of the debt, the balance of the proceeds of sale should be laid out in the purchase of another Estate to be entailed in the same manner as that of Kinross, and with the balance of the sale proceeds the Estate of Tillicoultry was purchased and duly entailed. In 1796 Mr. Carstairs Bruce, who, it appears, was then in embarrassed circumstances, having "discovered that the Entail of Tillicoultry, which of course was strictly in terms of the former Deed, was not legally guarded by a proper resolutive clause in so far as respected the prohibition to sell,"[1] sold a small portion of that Estate to a friend, in order to try the point whether the original Entail of Kinross might not be set aside. In 1799 the Court of Session decided that although the heir of Entail in possession was prohibited in the Deed of Entail from selling, yet owing to a defect in the resolutive clause, the sale which had taken place was valid. And this decision being affirmed by the House of Lords, Mr. Carstairs Bruce proceeded to sell the entire Estate, disposing of portions of it from time to time until the whole was sold, but this did not take place until the year 1805, when that portion which then remained was sold for £35,000. After paying his debts—largely increased no doubt by

[1] "Information" for J. C. Bruce in suit before Court of Session.

law expenses—he purchased, with the balance of the sale proceeds or a portion of it, the smaller Estate of Balchrystie, in Fife. In 1825 my father, who by this time had again become next heir of Entail, brought an action in the Court of Session against the then Mr. Carstairs Bruce, grandson of Sir John, to compel him to invest the money received for Tillicoultry—or the balance of it—in an Estate to be entailed as that had been, and in 1827 my father obtained a Judgment in his favour. But by the House of Lords this Judgment was reversed, on the ground that although the original Entail did contain a prohibition against selling, yet inasmuch as the irritant and resolutive clauses did not refer to it, the heir in possession might sell, and was not bound to re-invest the price in another Estate. Thus ended our hopes of any advantage from the Kinross Entail—the result of a decision by the House of Lords diametrically opposed to the previous Act of Parliament. By this decision my father became involved in pecuniary difficulties from which he never recovered, and these, rendering it impossible that he should do that justice to the Estate of Arnot which he otherwise would have done, entailed upon me much of the serious outlay which I have had to incur during the last nineteen years. But my father, the very soul of honour, by a

quarter of a century of rigid economy and self-denial, was enabled to secure every one of his creditors from loss.

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From allusions in various letters to some apparently important legal proceedings in which she was for a considerable time engaged, it seems probable that my grandmother did not allow the Estate of Kinross to leave that branch of the family without taking some steps of a legal nature in the matter—not improbably with the view of establishing her right as possible heir of Entail. Be this as it may, she is always described as Miss Bruce of Arnot, from the period of her father's death until her marriage in 1774 with Mr. Williamson, who by the terms of the Entail assumed the surname of Bruce and the Arms of Kinross.

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Having already referred incidentally to the Armorial Bearings of the families of Kinross and Arnot, I may not inappropriately here describe them, together with the circumstances under which they were adopted, so far as it is in my power to do so.

The first change from the ancient Arms of the Bruces appears to have taken place on the creation of the Baronetcy in 1668, although the Extract

from the Register of King of Arms before referred to bears date 1675. In that "Extract of the Emblazoning," as it is called, the Arms are described as—"Or, a Saltire, Gules and Chiefe of the second . . . and for his crest a sun going down, the one halfe appearing proper, supported by two Crans regourdant proper, with this symboll in an Escroll, Irrevocabile." Under the Arnot Entail the surname of Bruce and the Arms of Kinross must be borne by that family—a requirement which has of course always been fulfilled, although the crest and motto have again been changed, the former to "a sun rising," the latter to "*Nec me qui caetera vincit.*"

It was a pity perhaps to give up the broken sceptre and the "*Fuimus*," the ancient crest and motto of the Bruces. But Sir William Bruce's object was doubtless to distinguish his family from others of the same name and lineage ; and it will be observed that the first change is only in what meets the eye, the mottoes and both the crests conveying the same meaning and sentiment, and having reference to memories of the same past.

With regard to the subsequent change of crest and motto for the Bruces of Arnot—the substitution of a *rising* for a *setting* sun for a crest, and for a motto "*Nec me qui caetera vincit*" instead of "*Fuimus*" or "*Irrevocabile*," family tradition

affirms that it was made at the suggestion of, or in consequence of a remark by King Charles the Second, from whom, as shewn in the earlier part of this narrative, Sir William had received many substantial marks of Royal favour, His Majesty having graciously expressed a hope in opposition to the sentiment conveyed by the then existing crest and motto, that the family might rise again.

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As to the sentiment conveyed by this second change of crest and motto, it is to be observed that although from one point of view it may be said to be almost at direct variance with that expressed by the former ones, it yet but embodies what may be described as a natural consequence or incident of the latter—or what ought to be so—although directly suggestive of far higher and nobler aspirations, and to a certain extent of what may be described as new. For whereas the broken sceptre with its "*Fuimus*," and much more the setting sun with its "*Irrevocabile*," although reaching to the far distant past, were more than silent in respect of the future, the rising sun with its "*Nec me qui caetera vincit*," although no less mindful of the past, is pregnant with hope and high resolve for the future! May my children and their children's children to the farthest generation be actuated by this sentiment, not only in

regard to the things of this life but of that which is to come.

I well remember, on the occasion of my giving him his first sword when he entered the Army, my lost son's chivalrous attention to the family motto on its scabbard. There was no fear of his bringing discredit on it!

II

HAVING no regular genealogical records of the Williamson family to refer to, I have had to glean what I have to say on the subject from detached papers in the Charter Chest, from friends to whom I applied for information, and from genealogical and other published works—in addition to what I have to relate of my own personal knowledge.

From a Memorandum in the Charter Chest founded partly on local and family tradition, and partly on the transactions of history, it would appear that as the result of a feud between Harold, son of MacWilliam, Earl of Caithness, and a powerful Bishop of Moray towards the end of the twelfth century, the Earl's Estate and Honours were forfeited to the Crown, and the whole clan outlawed and compelled to leave that part of the country, some of them retiring to the Continent

and others to the south of Scotland. Among the latter were four brothers of the name, who settled at Netherhaugh, "now Glengeith," in Lanarkshire, the eldest being the ancestor of this family; and in the course of time, the family separating, the Estate was divided into four portions, a fourth part under the designation of Mirklaw falling to the share of the then second brother, the more immediate ancestor of this family, by whose descendants it was held until about the middle of the seventeenth century, when it was sold, after being in their possession for more than three hundred years.

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There is in the Charter Chest a Genealogical Tree headed "The Genealogy of Thomas Williamson Esquire of the Kingdom of France, whose name is sometimes spelt in France Williamson, Deoillenson, Douillanson, Deillanson, Guillaumson, D'Oilliamson, &c., descended from an ancient Military and Knightly Family in the County of Cromarty in the Kingdom of Scotland." It begins with a Duncan Williamson, who married in 1381 Alice, daughter of a Mackenzie of Kintail, and ends with a Thomas Williamson, "Archer of the Scots Company of the King of France's Life Guards (who) passed into France in 1495, and married in 1506 Margaret Rault." It may be

assumed that the Williamsons of the Tree were of the same stock as those of the Memorandum referred to, the two documents being found together in the Charter Chest among other family records.

My grandfather died before I was born. His father was a younger brother of Alexander Williamson of Balgray. He had no profession, and the family resided sometimes in their house in Edinburgh and sometimes at different places in the country. His father's elder brother, the Alexander of Balgray before referred to, died in 1762, leaving by his wife Christian, daughter of David Robertson, Esq. of Gledney, three sons:

1. Charles, in the 26th Regiment (Cameronians), whose grandson, David Robertson Williamson of Lawers, married to the Hon. Selina Maria, a daughter of Lord Tredegar, is the present head of the family.

2. John, also in the 26th Regiment, married to a beautiful Spanish lady, whom he is said to have carried off from a convent, but he left no issue.

3. David, afterwards Lord Balgray, who married his cousin, daughter and heiress of William Robertson of Lawers, but by her had no family. He died in 1837, and his widow in 1852, when his grand-nephew, David Robertson Williamson (referred to above), who was also his wife's next of kin, succeeded to the Estate of Lawers.

Lord Balgray was my father's relative of that generation of whom I knew most. He was one of the Lords of Session of the Old School, a race which no longer exists, talented and accomplished and an able judge, tall and handsome and picturesque looking, with his powdered hair in a queue and his nether man ensconced in knee breeches and silk stockings, with large silver shoe buckles. He prided himself, as did his wife, on his courtly Scottish pronunciation, but was too much given to oaths, not in anger or in the way of common swearing, but with the utmost deliberation in studied language and with the most benevolent smile on his expressive countenance. In politics he was a high Tory, loyal and true; a model landlord and country gentleman; hospitable to a fault; a good shot and a lover of sport. Many of the happiest days of my boyhood were spent at Lawers, one of the most beautiful places in one of the most beautiful districts of Scotland—Strathearn, in Perthshire.

Another cousin of my father's, whose memory, from his kindness to me when at school at Dr. Burney's at Greenwich, I must ever revere, was a Colonel in the Royal Artillery. His name is one of those inscribed on the central pillar of the Rotunda at Woolwich, by order of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, Commander-

in-Chief, as names memorable in the service of the Royal Artillery. In his introduction to the Official Catalogue of the Museum of Artillery in the Rotunda established in 1864, my friend, General Lefroy, says of him: "Colonel John S. Williamson entered the Royal Artillery in 1794, and in the course of a long and varied service acquired the reputation of being one of the best officers of his day. He commenced his active career in the Kaffir War of 1800. As Captain he was present at the attack on Ischia in 1809 and at the capture of Santa Maura in 1810. He subsequently joined the army in Spain, and as Major was present at the battle of Castaka under Sir J. Murray in April 1813; later in the year at the siege of Tarragona and the combat of Ordal. Having received the brevet promotion of Lieut. Colonel he shared in the glory of the crowning victory of Waterloo. Colonel Williamson succeeded the second Sir William Congreve at the Royal Military Repository in 1828 and held the post of Superintendent until his death. This period was devoted to the preparation of a new and extensive course of instruction for the Artillery, which forms the basis of the exercise of heavy ordnance, and of all the miscellaneous instruction of the artillery man at the present day. The large experience, the sound judgment and eminently

practical spirit in which this course is drawn up, give it a value which no mere change of material can affect. It will always remain a model for professional works of the kind. He died at Woolwich in 1836."

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My grandfather died in 1806 and my grandmother in 1810, and were both laid in the family vault at Kinross, where I saw their coffins in perfect preservation in 1860.

My father was one of the finest looking men I ever saw, of a right noble presence, a father to be proud of, kind and affectionate, and beloved by his family, upright and honourable, and respected in every relation of life, overflowing with wit the most delicate and refined; one of nature's gentlemen. The only portrait of him, with the exception of the miniature taken when he was a child, is the water colour by George Richmond, painted for me in 1842.

His own wish was to enter the Army, but his mother was opposed to it, and he never adopted any regular profession; although his military tendencies led him afterwards to join the "Windsor Foresters" and the Forfarshire Militia—a branch of the Army to which in those days, when so many of the regular troops were fighting their country's battles on the Continent, were entrusted,

to a great extent, the military duties of the United Kingdom. These two regiments, as were many others, were officered by gentlemen belonging to the first families in the country, many of whom were among my father's most intimate friends ever afterwards. In "The Forfarshire" were two of the Douglas family, who afterwards became successively Lords Douglas—brothers of my most intimate and most true friend the Hon. Mrs. Douglas of Strathendry, one among ten thousand.

In later life my father was a member of the Board of Customs in Scotland, an appointment which he held until 1828, when the Board was abolished and its duties transferred to the London Board, the Scotch members receiving a retiring allowance. From this period he lived a good deal on the Continent, partly from motives of economy and partly for the sake of his younger children's health. He was born in Edinburgh in 1777, and died at Clifton on the 1st September 1852. He was twice married, his first wife being Katherine, daughter of Robert Renny Tailyour, Esq. of Borrowfield in Forfarshire, and sister of Juliet, Countess of Kintore, wife of the seventh Earl—father of the present Earl by a subsequent marriage.

By his first marriage my father had a daughter Elizabeth, married to Robert Rickart Hepburn of

Rickarton, in Kincardineshire. She died in 1843, several years after her husband, leaving one son and several daughters. Of the latter, two only are now alive, viz., Eleanor and Elizabeth, the former married to Major-General Renny, Commanding at Ceylon, formerly in the 81st Regiment, brother of Colonel Renny Tailyour of Borrowfield ; the latter to Colonel Gildea, Commanding the 81st Regiment, of an old Irish family, the Gildeas of Clooncorenack House, County Mayo. Both sisters have families.

Their brother Robert was twice married ; first, to Margaret, only daughter of the late Robert Taylor of Kirkton Hill, Forfarshire ; secondly, to Helen Maria, second daughter of the late Colonel Forbes Leith of Whitehaugh, Aberdeenshire. He died in 1857, leaving a daughter Helen, when the Estate of Rickarton reverted to his father's brother, William, next heir male, his widow having attempted unsuccessfully to break the Entail in favour of her daughter. The elder Robert was in "The Bays," the 2nd Dragoon Guards. I remember my father saying that he was one of the three officers mentioned, or, if I mistake not, presented to the Crowned Heads assembled in Paris after the Battle of Waterloo, as the three finest looking officers then present with the British Army. Another was the late Sir Henry

Bethune. But who the third was has escaped my memory.

As was my father one of the handsomest men, so was my mother one of the most graceful and elegant women I ever saw. She was the eldest-born of very handsome parents—Major-General and the Lady Elizabeth Eleanora Dundas, of Carron Hall, in Stirlingshire, of which their grandson, Joseph, is the present proprietor.

My father and mother were married at Carron Hall in October 1807, and had six children, of whom I, Thomas, was the eldest, born at Edinburgh, 29th August 1808.

2. Eleanor Dundas, born at Montrose, 29th September 1809; died in Edinburgh, 29th June 1829, and was buried in a vault in the burial ground of the Episcopal Church of St. John the Evangelist.

3. David, born at Newcastle-on-Tyne, 17th February 1811, Vicar of Merrington, in the Diocese of Durham, and Hon. Canon of that Cathedral, married Margaret, eldest daughter of the late Adam Atkinson of Lorbottle, in Northumberland, and has four sons and two daughters. One of his wife's sisters is married to Colonel Renny Tailyour of Borrowfield, and the other to the Revd. Henry Howes, Vicar of Spixworth, Norwich. She has two brothers, Adam, the pre-

sent proprietor of Lorbottle ; and Nathaniel, Vicar of Great and Little Hampton, Worcestershire. A third brother, John, Major in the 89th Regiment, died in India.

4. John, born at Carron Hall, March 1812 ; died April following.

5. Janet Anne, born in Edinburgh, 15th May 1814 ; died at Pau in 1830.

6. Charles, born in Edinburgh, 17th December 1817 ; died at Groisons, near Tours, in 1833, and was buried at Tours.

Very beautiful were these young sisters and that young brother, who so soon left us, beautiful too in mind and in spirit, as in body, full of the grace that cometh from above. And my brother David —if there are two guileless and true men upon earth, he is one of them.

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My mother was a cousin of the present (eleventh) Earl of Home, her mother having been a daughter of Alexander, ninth Earl, by Primrose, daughter of Charles, ninth Lord Elphinstone, and both the Homes and the Dundases (her father's family) are undoubtedly descended from the Earls of Dunbar and March, whose origin may be traced up to the Kings of the Saxon Heptarchy. The Dundases of Carron Hall are in fact the Dundases of Fingask, and still describe themselves

as such, although that property no longer belongs to them. They are an elder branch of the family of the Earls of Zetland, whose ancestor, Sir Lawrence, created a Baronet in 1762, was the second son of the then Dundas of Fingask.

My mother's father, Major-General Dundas, died in the West Indies in 1794, after the taking of Guadeloupe. A monument to his memory was erected in St. Paul's Cathedral at the public expense. Under some of the engravings from his portrait by Romney, there is a short extract from a speech in Parliament by the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, afterwards the first Lord Melville, eulogistic of the General, which I record here as worthy to be held in remembrance by his descendants. "To sum up his character," said Mr. Dundas, "he was wise yet unassuming, brave, mild and generous." He was the elder son of Thomas Dundas of Fingask by his wife, Lady Janet, youngest daughter of Charles, sixth Earl of Lauderdale.

The General's brother, Charles, was created Baron Amesbury in 1832. On his dying without male issue, the title became extinct. His daughter and heiress, Janet, married her cousin, Captain Deans, who on his marriage assumed the name of Deans Dundas, was afterwards a Lord of the Admiralty, and subsequently Naval Commander-

in-Chief in the Crimean War. He married, secondly, Lady Emily Moreton, a daughter of the fourth Earl Ducie, and died in 1862. Among the family portraits are those of the General and my grandmother, copied for me by my aunt, Mrs. Dundas, from the portraits at Carron Hall by Romney.

My mother had one brother, Colonel Dundas of Carron Hall, and five sisters, two of whom, Eleanor and Anne, died unmarried. Her remaining sisters were:

Janet Maitland, married to her cousin, Sir Thomas Gibson Carmichael, Baronet of Castle Craig and Skirling.

Charlotte, married to Hart, elder son of the late Richard Hart Davis, Esq., many years Member of Parliament for Bristol, and an intimate friend of His Majesty George IV.

Elizabeth, married to A. G. Harford Battersby, Esq., next brother of the late John Harford, Esq. of Blaise Castle, Gloucestershire.

My aunt, Lady Carmichael, had seven children, of whom three only survived their infancy. Eleanor Hyndford, married to Sir David Kinloch, Bart. of Gilmerton, who died in 1849; Margaret, who died unmarried; and Alexander, fifth child, who succeeded his father as eleventh Baronet in December 1849, but died in May of the following

year. Lady Carmichael having died in 1813, Sir Thomas married, secondly, in 1816, Anne, third daughter of Francis, seventh Lord Napier, by whom he had several children, the eldest of whom, Thomas, succeeded his half-brother, Sir Alexander; and, dying in 1855, was succeeded by his brother, the Revd. William Henry, thirteenth and present Baronet. Sir William married in 1858 Eleanor Anne, daughter of David Anderson, Esq. of St. Germans, who died in 1861, leaving three sons. Of Sir William's brothers and sisters only one is now alive, Sophia Caroline, married to Francis Neville Reid, Esq.

Lady Kinloch died in 1849, leaving a son, Alexander, and three daughters. Alexander married Lucy, elder daughter of the late Sir Ralph Anstruther, Bart. of Balcaskie, sister of Sir Robert, the present Baronet, and by her has sons and daughters. Of his sisters, the eldest, Isabel, is married to Harrington Balfour, Esq., late of the Bengal Civil Service.

Mrs. Hart Davis died in 1861, having lost her husband in 1854. They had no family.

Mrs. Harford Battersby died in 1823, leaving two sons and two daughters. Her husband died in 1851. Their eldest son, John, has assumed the name of Harford, as heir of his uncle, the late Mr. Harford of Blaise Castle, in Gloucestershire, and

Falcondale, in Caermarthenshire. He married Mary, daughter of the late Baron de Bunsen, by whom he has two sons and six daughters; his younger sister, Mary, having previously married the Baron's eldest son, Henry, now Vicar of Donnington, in Shropshire, the issue of this marriage being two daughters. Mr. Harford Battersby's second son, Thomas Dundas, is Vicar of Keswick. He married Mary, daughter of the late George Forbes, Esq., by whom he has several children. The remaining sister, Eleanor Dundas, is unmarried.

These three married sisters of my mother were all as good as beautiful and as beautiful as good.

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But now to revert to myself. Not long after leaving Dr. Burney's at Greenwich, I received an appointment in the Bengal Civil Service, and went to Haileybury College, the course of study at which at that time involved a residence of not less than four terms, or two years. But taking advantage of an Act of Parliament passed after I had been there a year, in order to meet the demand for civil servants caused by the growth of the British Empire in India, and being of the required age, I qualified for India at the end of my third term, and left England in February 1827.

I was married at Calcutta on the 2nd December 1828, came to England with my family on furlough for three years in 1839, and finally left India in 1854, at which time I was a member of the Board of Revenue.

My beloved wife Henrietta was the third daughter of Alexander Dorin, Esq., a London and East India merchant. Her mother was Charlotte, second daughter of John Taylor, Esq. of Abbot Hall, Kendal, and Townhead, Windermere, by his wife Dorothy, daughter of Captain William Rumbold, father of the first Baronet of that name, and A.D.C. to Lord Clive. Dorothy had previously been married to Captain Northall of the Royal Artillery, by whom she had two daughters, the elder of whom married, first, Mr. Richardson, of Coleraine, in Ireland, and secondly, Sir Thomas Trowbridge, grandfather of the present Baronet. Of Mrs. Dorin's sisters, one, Elizabeth, married Alexander Montgomerie, Esq. of Annick Lodge, Ayrshire, next brother of Hugh, twelfth Earl of Eglinton, by which marriage there were eight children.

1. William Eglinton, who succeeded his father and left a large family, the eldest of whom, Alexander, is in the Army.

2. Alexander, Admiral in the British Navy, died 1863.

3. Hugh, in the Madras Civil Service, died 1864.

4. Thomas, in the Madras Civil Service, died in India.

5. Elizabeth, married to the Right Hon. David Boyle, Lord Justice-General and President of the Court of Session, grandson of John, second Earl of Glasgow. The head of this branch of the family is David Boyle, Esq of Shewalton, heir-presumptive to George Frederick, sixth Earl of Glasgow. One of Mr. Boyle's sisters is married to James Hope, Esq., youngest son of the late Right Hon. Lord President Hope. Another died within the last few months, Helen, widow of Sir Charles Fergusson, Bart. of Kilkerran.

6. Hamilla, married to Alexander West Hamilton of Pinmore, Ayrshire, second son of John Hamilton, Esq. of Sundrum, of whom more hereafter.

7. Charlotte, married to Revd. T. Proctor.

8. Frances, died 1858.

Another sister of Mrs. Dorin's, Dorothy, married, first, J. Anderton, Esq., and secondly, Major J. Clerk of Westholme, Somersetshire, whose second son, Robert, formerly in the Indian Civil Service, is the present head of the family—a branch of that of the Clerks of Penicuik.

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My wife had two brothers and three sisters:

1. William, in the Bengal Civil Service, a man of great ability and high in office, but cut off in the prime of life, after a short illness, soon after my arrival in India, unmarried.

2. Joseph Alexander, in the same service, who retired after attaining the position of Member of the Supreme Council of India. He married Anna Patton, a niece of the late Lady Torrens, mother of the Dowager Lady Anstruther, widow of Sir Ralph Anstruther of Balcaskie. By this marriage there were two sons, Henry and James, both in the Army. But the latter was killed in the Indian Mutiny in 1858, and his brother died not long afterwards, leaving a widow and an only son.

3. Fanny, died young.

4. Charlotte, died unmarried.

5. Elizabeth, married to John Dick, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service, and secondly, to George Charteris, Commander, R.N., son of the late George Charteris, Esq. of Amisfield, Dumfriesshire, of the Wemyss family. She died in 1864, leaving no family.

My beloved wife Henrietta was compelled by ill health to leave India a year before me, our first and only separation during a wedded life of upwards of thirty years. But when I rejoined her in 1854 her health had not improved. On the

28th October 1859, after much suffering, borne with a patience and resignation very wonderful, she was suddenly taken from me, her spirit ascending to the abode of the blessed, leaving the frail body which I had so long and so tenderly cherished, where it had so often rested—in my arms. What I owe to her none on earth besides myself can ever know. If ever two were one, we were. Under God, she was my pattern, my guide, my counsellor, and her memory must ever be blessed to me. She died in Edinburgh, whither I had taken her for medical advice.

Five children were born to us.

1. Charlotte Clementina, born at Calcutta, 6th October 1829; married 19th January 1860, to Major (then Captain) E. C. S. Williams, Royal Engineers, Deputy Secretary to the Government of India in the Public Works Department.

She has a son, Hugh Bruce, born July 24, 1865, and two daughters—Clementina Elizabeth Hope, born October 15, 1866; and Janet Maitland, born December 2, 1867.

2. Henrietta Eleanor, born at Calcutta, 15th August 1832; married 27th April 1865, to John Wilkie, Esq. of Foulden, in Berwickshire, whose mother was a sister of the late Sir William Cavendish Cunningham Dalyell, Bart. of Binns; and whose great-grandmother was a sister of Sir David

Kinloch of Gilmerton, fifth Baronet. They have two sons and two daughters.

James Bruce, born 1st May 1867; Henrietta Eleanor Maria, born 10th May 1868; Harriet Charlotte, born 16th April 1869; John Dalyell, born 20th September 1870.

3. Thomas, born at Tipperah, in Bengal, 22nd August 1835. He died at sea 28th July 1863, on his way from Barbados, and was buried at St. Thomas's. "Even so, Father, for so it seemed good in Thy sight." At the time of his death he was a Captain in the 21st Royal North British Fusiliers, which regiment he had joined in 1854, at the outbreak of the Crimean War, for his services in which he received two medals and a clasp. He was a noble fellow, a true and gallant soldier, beloved by all who knew him. His brother-officers placed a marble monument over his grave, with the following words below the inscription: "Erected by his Brother Officers, as a token of their love and esteem."

He was very handsome, but, with the exception of some photographs, the only portrait of him is the unfinished sketch in oils by my cousin, Joseph Dundas. He was cut down by sun apoplexy, in the fulness of health and life. But his mother was spared the blow. "Her Boy" was the joy of her heart.

4. Charles, born at Roncally, in Bengal, 13th October 1836. Possessed of great talents, and well fitted to shine in the world, with a power for acquiring languages quite marvellous; as a Sanskrit scholar highly thought of, especially on the Continent, where he is best known. He has at last begun to turn his talents to some account as Rector of the Royal College, Mauritius, an office bestowed on him in 1868 by the Duke of Buckingham, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and in which he has already distinguished himself. But I look forward to yet seeing him in a position more worthy of his great talents and acquirements. His practical powers are shown in the beautiful *Story of Nala and Damayanti*, translated from the Sanskrit. Shortly before leaving England for Mauritius, he married Clara, daughter of Joseph Lucas, Esq., a Solicitor in large practice in London, and a most estimable man. She has borne him a son, Charles Maurice Dundas, born 4th June 1869.

5. Josephine Dundas, born at Darjeeling, in the Himalayas, 19th May 1844.

On the 5th December 1867, after eight years of heart-yearning for the companionship of a wife, which those only who have experienced a loss such as mine could realise, I married Margaret Jane, sixth daughter of the late Alexander West Hamilton, Esq. of Pinmore—a marriage which has been

the means, under God, of my enjoying a degree of happiness and elasticity of mind which for those eight years of sorrow and sadness I thought had left me for ever.

I have previously made mention of the late Mr. Hamilton, my wife's father, as having married Hamilla, daughter of the late Mr. Montgomerie, of Annick Lodge, brother of the twelfth Earl of Eglinton, and a cousin of my wife Henrietta, and from the family details into which I then entered, those for whose benefit I write will have learnt nearly as much as I need tell them to enable them to follow out the ramifications of their numerous and double cousinhood.

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PART I

CHAPTER I

SERVICE IN THE EAST

MAURITIUS AND CEYLON, 1868 TO 1885

I NOW resume the thread of my father's narrative from the point of his brief notes on myself, and his expression of a hope that I might rise to a position worthy, as he was generously pleased to say, of my talents and acquirements—worthy, I would rather myself say of the traditions of my family.

I was educated at Harrow under Dr. Vaughan. Between 1856 and 1861 I was in America, my time being nearly equally divided between residence in the Southern States; travels in the Northern States and Canada, including a visit to Fort Garry, the site of the present city of Winnipeg; and residence in New England, mainly at the University of Yale, where I studied Oriental languages and literature, chiefly Sanskrit and Persian, under Professor Whitney. It was my good fortune during these years to be brought into

intimate association with leaders of both political parties, North and South, with naval and military commanders of distinction, and with representative exponents of contemporary thought in the departments of theology, law, medicine and scientific research.

In 1861 I proceeded to the University of Tübingen, my principal object being to pursue my Oriental studies and to attend Professor Roth's lectures on the history of non-Christian religions from the earliest annals of recorded time. Concurrently I availed myself of the opportunity to study the history of the Christian religion under the guidance of the leaders both of the Tübingen School of Protestants and of the Roman Catholic School of Divinity of the University. My Oriental studies were mainly devoted to the Indian Vedas and the Zend Avesta, and I at once became a contributor to the epoch-making *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, published by Böhtlingk and Roth under the auspices of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg. In 1862 I reaped a rich harvest in the publication by the Academy of my work *Die Geschichte von Nala*, a critical revision of the text of what an earlier editor had described as *pulcherrimum, maximum et apud Indos celeberrimum Mahâ-Bhârati episodium.* The work was favourably reviewed by the most distinguished

Oriental scholars of the day, and took its place as a text-book at the principal Universities of Europe and America. It was followed by the translation referred to by my father as *The Story of Nala and Damayanti*, and soon after by a translation of an unpublished hymn from the Atharva Veda, accompanied by an essay on the comparative mythology of the Vedic and Homeric conceptions of the Earth.

In 1863 I was advised to apply for an appointment as Assistant in the Library of the British Museum. There was no vacancy and no prospect of a vacancy, but my qualifications appealed to Mr. Panizzi, then Principal Librarian, and the support of powerful influences succeeded in securing me an appointment conditionally on my passing the usual Civil Service examination. The subjects in which I offered myself for examination and passed were Greek, Latin, French, German, Italian, Spanish and Sanskrit. My examination in German had a curious consequence. My testimonials included a certificate that by long residence in the country I had acquired the power of conversing in the German language with perfect ease and correctness, and that I was exceedingly well acquainted with the national literature. When I presented myself to the examiner, an Englishman, and addressed him in German, he told me, with an

emotion that I can only describe as agony, that he could not converse with me in the language. I continued to speak German while he spoke English. My indignant protest was subsequently taken up by Panizzi, and formed the subject of a Blue Book, with the result that measures were taken to prevent the recurrence of such an absurd position.

Towards the close of 1864 I obtained leave of absence to enable me to visit Russia, primarily with a view to adding a knowledge of Russian to my linguistic qualifications. After travelling slowly by way of Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland, I received from the Academy of St. Petersburg a welcome which I can never forget. I subsequently visited Tver, Moscow, Nijni-Novgorod and Kazan, returning through Poland, then in a state of suppressed revolution, and spending some days in Warsaw and Cracow, on my way to Vienna.

In 1865 I accepted the appointment of Professor of Sanskrit at King's College, London, and this, to my great regret, necessitated my resignation of my office at the British Museum. The rule which prevented me from holding the two appointments was not long afterwards wisely abrogated in the case of my colleague Sir R. K. Douglas, Keeper of Oriental Books and MSS. and

Professor of Chinese at the University of London. In the course of the next three years my knowledge of the people and languages of Europe was extended by travels in Austria, the Danubian Principalities, Hungary and Transylvania.

While at Bucharest in 1866, I was invited by Ion Ghica, President of the Council of Ministers, to occupy a seat in the Tribuna Diplomatica at the opening of the Session summoned to ratify the election by plebiscite of Prince Carl of Hohenzollern to be reigning Prince of Roumania. It may well be that I am the only survivor of the occupants of the Tribuna on the occasion.

In 1868 I accepted the appointment of Rector of the Royal College, Mauritius, and on September 12th was married to Clara, daughter of Mr. Joseph Lucas, of a family allied by descent to my cousins, the Harfords of Blaise Castle and Falcondale. The Duke of Buckingham, on offering me the appointment, assured me that, for reasons arising out of questions of race, language and creed, there was no office in the Colony so difficult to fill to the satisfaction of the Government and the community. The day after my arrival in Mauritius, the Governor, Sir Henry Barkly, repeated the assurance in nearly identical terms.

In 1870 I published the result of my labours in a pamphlet entitled *The Organisation of*

Secondary and Superior Instruction, which gave equal satisfaction to the Colonial Office, the local Government and the community. I pointed out that it was an endeavour to give practical effect to the principles laid down by Mr. Matthew Arnold in the following passage:

"As our public instruction gets a clearer view of its own functions, of the relations of the human spirit to knowledge, and of the entire circle of knowledge, it will certainly more learn to awaken in its pupils an interest in that entire circle, and less allow them to remain strangers to any part of it. Still the circle is so vast and human faculties are so limited, that it is for the most part through a single aptitude, or group of aptitudes, that each individual will really get his access to intellectual life and vital knowledge; and it is by effectually directing these aptitudes on definite points of the circle, that he will really obtain his comprehension of the whole. . . . Every man is born with aptitudes which give him access to vital and formative knowledge by one of these roads; either by the road of studying man and his works, or by the road of studying nature and her works. The business of instruction is to seize and develop these aptitudes. The great and complete spirits which have all the aptitudes for both roads of knowledge are rare."

On my sending a copy to Mr. Matthew Arnold, he wrote me a warm letter of acknowledgment from the Athenæum, declaring that it was the only serious attempt ever made in our Colonial Empire to carry out the principles he had advocated. But he made a reservation, regretting that no provision was made for the teaching of the Bible as an integral part of the curriculum. He believed that the language of our sacred writings was inseparable from our national life. I need hardly say that any such provision as he desiderated would have wrecked my scheme. I should have failed to convert education from a disintegrating into a consolidating force. In my work *The Broad Stone of Empire*, I have devoted a chapter to the operation of the system in detail. I am not here concerned with details, but with results. I will add, however, that I did all in my power to encourage athletic sports and exercises. I was President of the Mauritius Cricket Club and of the Rifle Association. Nor must I omit to recall the social service done by my wife, an accomplished musician. In 1875 she was presented with an Address by the Bishop of Mauritius and others, in which they made generous acknowledgment of her help in these terms:

"We cannot let you leave for England without tendering in our name and in that of the congre-

gation our united and best thanks for the valuable services which you have so kindly rendered in St. Thomas' Choir. We feel that it is very especially owing to your presence at the Harmonium that the marked improvement in our service of praise is due—an improvement happily followed by larger congregations and heartier worship."

In 1878 I was appointed Director of Public Instruction in Ceylon, and reorganised the educational system of the Colony on the same principles adapted to a community including over seventy races and nationalities. Ceylon is generally recognised as the premier Crown Colony, and one of the most attractive as well as important of British Dependencies. It is full of interest not only to the visitor or globe-trotter, but to the Europeans resident as administrators, capitalists, agriculturalists and merchants. To the civil engineer its ancient and modern systems of irrigation, its harbour works, roads and railways, its sanitary problems supply a school of study which it is hoped to develop into a department of an Imperial University. The claims of Ceylon as the site of such a University have been strongly supported by Professor Dunstan, Director of the Imperial Institute. They are based not only on the variety and importance of its local agricultural and mineral

resources, but on the proximity of Ceylon to the vast agricultural and mineral areas of Asia, of tropical Australia, of the Islands of the Indian Ocean and of Eastern Africa. To the historian and archæologist it may be doubted whether any territory of equal extent in the world is of superior interest. It possesses one of the most ancient and authentic of histories, verified by stupendous monuments and ruins, rock inscriptions and coins, but above all by the continuity of existence of the Sinhalese community, who, highly civilised and cultivated at a time when Britain was in a very primitive condition, have for over 2000 years maintained their language, social customs and dress. My official work in Ceylon impressed upon me the lesson I had already learnt in Mauritius, that in Colonies where difficulties necessarily arise out of the rivalries of race, colour, creed, and the warring interests of capital and labour, the first duty of the administration is to be constantly mindful that prophylaxis is better than cure, and to keep a watchful eye on even the slightest symptoms of danger, in order to prevent opposing interests from breaking into open conflict. Another lesson which was learnt in Ceylon, and which my dear wife took to heart, was to appreciate the place allotted to women in civil and domestic life by their respective creeds and customs. I believe that

her sympathies in this direction contributed largely to keep alive in the hearts of the people the memories of my period of service, and prompted them after the lapse of more than a quarter of a century to make a touching appeal for my good offices, at a time when the neglect of the administrative duty I have indicated had allowed differences which might have been conciliated to break into open conflict.

In 1881 my services were rewarded by my inclusion in the Birthday Honour List as C.M.G. Among many letters and addresses of congratulation, I received one of exceptional warmth from Mauritius, and at the close of the year 1882 my promotion to the post of Colonial Secretary for that Colony terminated my tenure of office in Ceylon and my direct connection with the educational system of the Colonial service.

A few days before I left Ceylon, the Governor, Sir James Longden, at a College ceremony, summed up the results of my work in these generous terms:

"I remember that three years ago, . . . a native gentleman, himself of very great attainments, almost deplored that the education given in Ceylon schools was not wide enough, that so much of the time of the pupils was given to classics and so little to what is called the modern side, or natural science.

I think if Sir Coomara Swamy could have listened to the report which was read just now by the Principal, and could have seen the distinctions that have been won by the students of this College in other subjects besides classics, he would have been satisfied. If he could have witnessed the thoroughness of instruction given in chemistry, natural science, and the other sciences, side by side with classical training, he would have been satisfied. . . .

"In the administration of his department—a department which is second to none in real importance to the Colony—Mr. Bruce has ever shown that his single desire was to bring the best kind of education home to the mass of the people—to all the children of Ceylon. He took equal interest in the humblest vernacular school and in this College, and throughout all his able and impartial management of the department entrusted to him, his single aim was to bring the blessings of education to every child in the place, and to those who could afford it a higher education to enable them to make their way in the world, each according to his own mode of life, and according to his creed, with the advantage which education gives to every man and boy. That work has been carried on by Mr. Bruce for nearly four years now, and I venture to say that the work

will not be forgotten—like all good work that will endure—and, though he goes away himself, the Colony will still benefit by the results of that work."

On the eve of my departure I received a deputation of Buddhist priests from all the temples of Ceylon, who presented me with an Address in Sanskrit, of which the following is a translation:

"We who are here assembled, desirous of seeing you before your departure to a distant land to fill a higher post conferred on you by our Gracious Sovereign, beg to express our gratitude to you for the good rules and regulations framed by your skill, which have during the last four years been very useful in promoting the cause of vernacular education, and it is our sincere wish that Your Honor may be blessed with long life for the good you have done to the people of Ceylon, the benefits you have conferred on the community in general, and the encouragement you have extended to the study of Oriental literature. We beg your acceptance of the accompanying book, which we hope will serve to keep in remembrance those who have always entertained for you the greatest respect and regard."

The book referred to was a Pâlí manuscript, written on sheets of ivory in enamel letters on a gold ground. It had recently been presented by

the Buddhist priests of Burmah as the most valuable gift they could make to the Buddhist priests of Ceylon, who now presented it to me as the most valuable gift they had it in their power to offer.

Among other Addresses presented to me was one from the teachers of the first Kindergarten School established in Ceylon, I believe the first established in any of our Crown Colonies. My dear wife took much interest in this as an integral factor in my whole system of primary education. I have always held it to be a cardinal requirement of our Crown Colonies that in primary education superior importance must be attached to the instruction of the masses in subjects which will fit them for advancement in their hereditary occupations, and not necessarily as a stage of instruction leading up to the University and the learned professions. Accordingly my scheme included provision for instruction in carpentry and smith's work and other manual trades in boys' schools, and for instruction in dressmaking, lacemaking, embroidery and cooking in girls' schools.

I may add that while in Ceylon I took an active interest in the Volunteer movement, and obtained the approval of Headquarters for the formation of a Cadet Corps, to be attached to the Ceylon Volunteers. Although limited at first to the Royal College, it steadily grew in favour, until in 1907

I learnt with satisfaction that the Cadet battalion contained eight companies attached to Government and Aided Colleges, with a total strength of over 450 Cadets.

I arrived in Mauritius from Ceylon in March 1883, and was warmly welcomed. I greatly value an Address presented to me by my former pupils on March 7, in which they assured me that they accepted the interest I had taken in the youth of Mauritius as a standard by which they might fairly measure the interest I would henceforth take in the welfare of the Island. On May 5 I assumed the administration of the Government, pending the arrival of Sir John Pope Hennessy as Governor on June 1, and early in July my health made it necessary for me to solicit leave of absence. The short period of two months preceding my departure was the most crowded of my life. During my tenure of the office of Administrator I drew up a Memorandum on the educational system of the Colony, based on the principles I had carried out in Ceylon, and I availed myself of opportunities to recognise an equality of right to promotion between Mauritian and British-born members of the Civil Service. My action in both cases was approved by the Colonial Office. I also took the responsibility of sending a Commissioner to report on the organisation of our Immigration Agencies

in India. Sir John Pope Hennessy's arrival was immediately followed by a crisis brought on by the outbreak of war between France and Madagascar. The occupation of Tamatave, and the refusal of the French Admiral to allow a British steamer to call at that port for passengers and mails were the cause of prompt action by Admiral Sir William Hewitt, Commander-in-Chief of the East Indian squadron stationed in Mauritius with a view to contingencies that might arise out of the war. Affairs were complicated by the imprisonment of a Protestant Missionary in Madagascar, and the situation required careful handling. Fortunately the negotiations that followed, in which the Governor, as he reported to the Colonial Office, was guided by my advice, resulted in maintaining friendly relations with the French Admiral and allaying the irritation of the Missionaries. Brief as had been my stay in the Colony, my activity secured me, in addition to the approval of the Colonial Office and the Governor, the thanks of the Civil Service and the Churches, and in particular an Address from the Chamber of Agriculture, signed by the President, which I recall with pride and pleasure:

"Monsieur,

"Vous vous disposez à quitter pour quelque temps cette Colonie, et la Chambre

d'Agriculture, représentant le Corps Agricole de cette île, croirait manquer aux devoirs qui lui incombent si elle ne saisissait pas cette occasion de vous remercier, au nom des planteurs de Maurice, de la sollicitude éclairée que vous avez témoignée pour les intérêts agricoles de ce pays, aussi bien que de la gracieuse courtoisie dont vous avez toujours fait preuve envers les planteurs et particulièrement envers la Chambre d'Agriculture.

" Mais ce n'est point là votre seul titre aux sympathies de la communauté mauricienne. Pendant dix années où vous avez rempli, avec autant d'honneur pour vous que de profit pour la Colonie, les importantes et délicates fonctions de Recteur du Collège Royal, vous avez été appelé à exercer une grande influence sur l'avancement intellectuel et moral de toute une génération, et cette influence a été utile au pays, ainsi que l'expérience nous l'a démontrée.

" Plus tard, lorsque vous avez été élévé au poste que vous occupez aujourd'hui, et que les circonstances vous ont appelé à administrer temporairement le Gouvernement de cette île, vous vous êtes montré également soucieux des intérêts qui vous étaient confiés.

" Depuis quelque temps déjà le Corps Agricole, en présence de l'insuffisance croissante des bras dont dispose l'Agriculture, s'inquiétait à juste

titre des retards qui étaient portés à l'exécution des réquisitions faites par les planteurs pour demander des laboureurs dans l'Inde, sans qu'aucun éclaircissement fut donné à cet égard. Aussitôt que vous avez pris la direction du gouvernement vous vous êtes empressé de rendre public des documents qui expliquaient que l'arrêt subi par notre Immigration était dû à la complète désorganisation de nos Agences dans l'Inde.

"Eclairée sur le véritable état des choses, la Chambre d'Agriculture vous a demandé d'envoyer sans retard dans l'Inde une personne compétente pour réorganiser nos Agences et pour activer l'envoi de laboureurs, vous désignant en même temps l'honorable Trotter comme étant le fonctionnaire le plus propre à remplir cette mission importante. Après avoir pris l'avis du Conseil du Gouvernement vous n'avez pas hésité à engager votre responsabilité personnelle en accédant au vœu exprimé par la Chambre.

"Vous avez acquis dans cette circonstance des droits réels à la reconnaissance du Corps Agricole, et les planteurs ont été heureux d'apprendre que le Très Honorable Secrétaire d'Etat, ainsi que Son Excellence le Gouverneur, à son arrivée, avaient approuvé et ratifié la détermination que vous aviez prise.

"Vous ne vous éloignez que momentanément

de cette Colonie, et nous espérons vous revoir bientôt au milieu de nous.

"En attendant ce moment, nous vous prions de vouloir bien agréer les vœux que nous formons pour votre santé et votre prospérité ainsi que pour celle de votre famille."

My action in this matter marked the first stage of my activity in what was henceforth to be a principal work of my life—the vindication of the rights of British Indian Emigrants.

It was during this period of my official connection with Mauritius that I first met Sir John Henniker Heaton. In his recently published biography, by his daughter, Mrs. Adrian Porter, my co-operation with him in the work of his life is generously recognised. Prior to Pope Hennessy's appointment to the Government of Mauritius, he had been offered and had accepted the Government of New South Wales, but the announcement had been met by a protest on the part of the New South Wales Ministers so determined that the Secretary of State had been compelled to inform him that the appointment could not be proceeded with. He was smarting under this blow and his failure to have the matter made the subject of discussion in Parliament when he met Henniker Heaton on board the steamer

calling at Mauritius on its way to Australia. The casual acquaintanceship of the sea voyage inspired him with the hope that he had found in Henniker Heaton a man of sufficient influence over the press and public opinion in New South Wales to convert Ministers from their determination not to accept him as Governor. Moreover Henniker Heaton already contemplated a seat in the House of Commons, and this held out to Pope Hennessy the attractive prospect of powerful support not only in Australia but in the Imperial Parliament. It was natural that every opportunity should be given Henniker Heaton to witness at social and official functions the welcome extended by Mauritius to the rejected of New South Wales.

But Henniker Heaton had not long left the Colony when Pope Hennessy's policy, concentrated publicly in the formula "Mauritius for the Mauritians," and privately in the formula "Home Rule," had alienated the Admiral. The Admiral was almost immediately joined by the Officer Commanding the Troops, and there followed a breach of all social relations between the Governor and the naval and military authorities.

On my arrival in England I frankly informed the Colonial Office of the state of affairs, and was in turn frankly informed of communications

received by every mail, which made it clear that Pope Hennessy was prosecuting a policy of Home Rule, with a view to eventual separation. While the differences between the head of the civil government and the naval and military authorities had become a public scandal, the general community was divided and subdivided into hostile groups, the racial cleavage of English and French, white and coloured, being in each case cut across by religious cleavage.

When my leave had expired I returned to the Colony, instructed to use every endeavour to hold my office of Colonial Secretary and give the Governor the support it demanded, but, if I found it impossible to hold my office with honour, to return home. I have fully set out in *The Broad Stone of Empire* the reasons which compelled me, after a few months of loyal endeavour, to inform Pope Hennessy that I could no longer give his policy my support, and to apply for leave to place myself in the hands of the Secretary of State. He said to me, not without emotion, that he quite understood my position and my inability to understand his, because I could not know what it was to live and, if necessary, to die for Ireland. The reason which finally decided my action arose out of a controversy on the scheme of defence, and on my leaving the Colony the naval and military

authorities supplied me with a copy of their report to the War Office on the subject.

My return to England was followed by my transfer to the office of Lieutenant-Governor and Government Secretary of British Guiana. Ten years later I was offered the appointment of Governor of Mauritius, and accepted it as a complete vindication of my action as Colonial Secretary on the part of H.M. Government. It was made doubly precious by the enthusiasm of the welcome I received on my arrival in the Colony.

CHAPTER II

SERVICE IN THE WEST

BRITISH GUIANA AND WINDWARD ISLANDS, 1885 TO 1897

In passing from Ceylon and Mauritius to British Guiana, I carried my experience, acquired in the most populous, cultured and scientifically developed of our Island Colonies in the East, to a Colony in a very different stage of development in the West. At the time of my arrival the developed area covered less than 100,000 acres. After eight years I was to leave it extended to an area of over 100,000 square miles. The work of expansion of course necessitated an adequate population, an appropriate form of government, appropriate methods for the development of agriculture, forestry, mineral and water resources, an appropriate scheme of defence, and from first to last a sound system of finance. An influential organ of the press declared that at the time of my arrival the financial condition was little better than

that of Egypt before the British occupation of that country, a condition arising out of the decline and threatened extinction of the staple industry of sugar, upon which nine-tenths of the population depended for their existence. Within a very short time I had imperilled my career by my determined resistance to the financial methods of the Government. In this conflict I was fortunate enough to secure the support of the Colonial Office and the Colonists, and from that time these potent influences never failed me through five years of arduous but successful labour. In the circumstances, I found legitimate satisfaction in the congratulations of every section and class of the community on my receiving, two years later, the honour of knighthood as K.C.M.G.

While holding the appointment of Lieutenant-Governor it fell to me to administer the Government, during the absence of the titular Governor, on several occasions and for extended periods, and this gave me an opportunity to visit outlying districts of the Colony which had never been visited by any recent administrator. On these expeditions I invited representatives of administrative, industrial and commercial interests to accompany me, with the result that the legislative Chamber, the Court of Policy, was kept fully informed of the territorial conditions and the needs and wishes of

the people for whose welfare they were invited to legislate. Out of these visits there arose important boundary questions, in the final settlement of which by arbitration the knowledge acquired supplied important evidence. Locally they were followed by a Reform of the Constitution, the reorganisation of every Department of the Civil Service, including particularly the Immigration, Medical and Education Departments, the Departments of Public Works, Lands and Mines, Agriculture, Forestry, the Botanic Gardens and the Government Laboratory. Not the least important result of my expeditions into the north-western territory of the Colony was that they enabled me to organise an administrative system for the district after the model of the Government Agencies in Ceylon. The area included in the Agency was about 9000 square miles.

But the experience of history from the earliest periods of recorded time proves that the most difficult of all the problems in the development of natural resources is to reconcile the warring interests of capital and labour. It has been observed that, outside the domain of theology, there is no subject which has given rise to such an amount of controversial literature as the question of the rights and wrongs of tropical labour. It has been the subject of constant inquiry by

Royal and other Commissions. In 1891 the Government of India appointed Surgeon-Major Comins to be a Commissioner to inquire into the condition of British Indian Immigrants in British Guiana. I was administering the Government at the time, and availed myself of the opportunity to enact a *Law to Consolidate and Amend the Law relating to Asiatic Immigrants.*

The Ordinance was warmly approved by Dr. Comins, who declared that the Government and the planters had equal reason to be proud of a measure so enlightened in principle and so much in accordance with the wishes of the Government of India. He advised that it should be adopted, with necessary modification, as the basis of legislation not only in other British Crown Colonies but for the protection of Indian Immigrants in foreign Colonies. To my regret the Ordinance provoked violent opposition at home. Its operation was suspended, and it was under the consideration of Ministers of both political parties in England, as well as of the Government of India, before it was finally approved, with some amendments, in 1894. But it remained the subject of controversy and opposition for many years, until in 1911 Dr. Comins' opinion of the value of the Ordinance was confirmed by the judgment of a Royal Committee on

Indian Immigration to the Crown Colonies, of which Lord Sanderson was Chairman.

The work of consolidating the laws relating to Asiatic immigration revealed the fact that the laws of the Colony generally showed a condition described by the Attorney-General as one of "confusion, contradiction, repetition and disorder," and with the warm approval of the legislature I obtained the consent of the Secretary of State to the appointment of Sir John Carrington as Commissioner for the revision and consolidation of the Statute Laws of the Colony, a work which he completed in 1895.

If the Legislature of British Guiana had reason to be proud of the support given to the Immigration Ordinance of 1891, it had no less reason to be proud of its patriotism in supporting an Ordinance passed in the same year for the defence of the Colony. Early in the year the Government had been informed that the Colony would cease to be garrisoned by Imperial troops, and it became necessary to provide a scheme of defence. The scheme adopted included the reorganisation of the Police and Rural Constabulary as semi-military forces, and the creation of a territorial force in substitution of the existing Militia and Volunteers. I assumed the administration of the Government on the 29th of March, and on the

14th of April the necessary Bills were introduced and read a first time. The Police and Rural Constabulary Bills were read a third time and passed on the 16th of June. The Territorial Force Bill was passed on the 1st of August, by which time all the Imperial troops had been removed.

I explained the essential principles of the Ordinance in a despatch in the following terms:

(1) To take over an existing Volunteer Force and reorganise it as the nucleus of a new system:

(2) To maintain the Volunteer system so far as it can be depended on to supply such a force as may be considered necessary for the defence of the Colony and the protection of life and property:

(3) To provide for the compulsory maintenance of a local force, at such strength as may be determined, by ballot should the Volunteer system prove insufficient:

(4) To give the Governor almost absolute power to fix the necessary strength of the force and to control its discipline, government and administration.

The Bill was referred to the Colonial Defence Committee, of which Sir George Clarke, now Lord

Sydenham, was Secretary, and there was some delay in dealing with it, caused, as I understood, by the admission of the principle of compulsory service. It was not till the 5th of January 1902 that the Secretary of State in a despatch allowing the Ordinance, and urging certain amendments proposed by the Committee, declared his concurrence "in the appreciation which the Committee expressed of the ability of the scheme and the patriotism of the Colonial Legislature."

My expeditions into the interior brought me into constant association with the work of the Christian missionaries, and in particular my personal relations with the Bishops of the Anglican and Roman Churches were of the happiest. They were both men of outstanding distinction. The latter, Bishop Butler, had joined the Church after service as an Officer of the Army in India. It is probable that one result of the present war may be to recognise the value of such an interchange of service. In a letter contributed to *The Times* in August 1892 I gave a brief summary of Bishop Austin's episcopal service, and I cannot do better than reproduce it:

"On the 21st day of this month fifty full years will have elapsed since the creation by letters patent of the episcopal diocese of British Guiana and the appointment of William Piercy Austin to

be consecrated the first Bishop of the diocese. Bishop Austin is now by date of consecration the senior prelate of the Anglican Communion throughout the world, and it is asserted that the history of Christendom records only six instances in which a Bishop has completed the jubilee year of his tenure of office. The event which the Colony of British Guiana is preparing to celebrate 'with decent solemnity and sober pomp' may, therefore, be considered of more than local colonial interest.

"The Most Reverend William Piercy Austin, Bishop of Guiana and Metropolitan of the West Indies, a kinsman of the house of Lord Aberdare, was born in 1807 of a family long and honourably connected with the West Indies. Educated at Oxford, he rowed in the Exeter eight and took an active interest in promoting the first inter-University boat race. He was himself to have rowed in a race appointed to take place in 1828, but the arrangements fell through, and the first race was rowed in 1829, the eights including two future Bishops—Selwyn and Wordsworth. It is interesting to note, in passing, that in 1831 two other future Bishops found places in the University boats—Pelham, Bishop of Norwich, and Hamilton, Bishop of Salisbury. In 1831 commenced Mr. Austin's ecclesiastical connection with the

West Indies. He was ordained deacon in the Cathedral of St. Michael, Barbados, and appointed to the curacy of St. George, in Georgetown, British Guiana. In 1836 he was appointed rural dean; in 1837 ecclesiastical commissary for Guiana; and in 1838 archdeacon. In 1842 he was nominated to be the first Bishop of the diocese of Guiana. Some years ago the late Professor Freeman wrote an interesting article on the proper inter-relation of episcopal sees and cities, and from this point of view the following extract from the letters patent nominating Bishop Austin is of interest:

"'Whereas the parochial Church of St. George, in Georgetown, within the Colony of British Guiana, is apt and convenient to be constituted and ordained, and it is our intention to constitute and ordain the same to be a Cathedral Church and Bishop's See, now know ye that we do by these presents constitute and erect the said Church of St. George to be a Cathedral Church and Bishop's See, and we do ordain that the whole town of Georgetown aforesaid shall be henceforth a city and be called the city of Georgetown; and do make, ordain, establish and constitute the said city and all our Colony of British Guiana to be a separate and distinct diocese, to be called henceforth the diocese of Guiana. . . . And to the end that

this our intention may be carried into good effect, we, having great confidence in the learning, morals, probity and prudence of our well-beloved the Venerable William Piercy Austin, do nominate and appoint him to be consecrated a Bishop of the said See. . . .

"'In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patent. Witness ourselves at Westminster, this 21st day of August, in the sixth year of our reign.

"'By the Queen herself.'"

"It is not without interest that fifty years after the date of these letters patent the Sovereign who issued them and the prelate nominated should both be alive.

"The athletic training of Bishop Austin as an oarsman was admirably appropriate to the circumstances of his diocese. In Guiana, except on a fringe of coast, great rivers form the main highways, and creeks and streams the byways, nearly all communication in the interior being by boat. At the ripe age of 82 years the Bishop started on a visitation tour of 81 days to the mission stations of the interior, which can only be reached by the perilous path of streams impeded at frequent intervals in their course through the dense forests by falls and rapids, the cause of many fatal disasters. In his 84th year I had the privilege of

accompanying him on a visitation tour to the aboriginal Indians and other settlers in a part of the Colony, near the mouth of the Orinoco, of particular historical interest from its connection with the enterprises of Sir Walter Raleigh.

"In 1891, during the jubilee year of his episcopacy, Bishop Austin received from the Queen the appointment of Prelate of the Order of St. Michael and St. George. His tenure of this office will, doubtless, in some parts of our Colonial Empire, give additional interest to the approaching 50th anniversary of his consecration as Bishop."

Among many expressions of goodwill conveyed to me by other Christian Churches when I left the Colony, I received a copy of *Hymns for the Use of the People called Methodists*, the gift of the Wesleyan Churches, inscribed with an assurance of their grateful remembrance of my sympathy with them in their work. And some episodes of the present war remind me vividly of my co-operation with the Young Men's Christian Association in the Colony, of which I was Vice-President.

As I am availing myself rather largely of what Cicero claimed as a privilege of old age—a little self-praise—I quote from the press a passage on my social relations with the community:

"Mr. Bruce, Lieutenant-Governor and Government Secretary, whose administration of the Government ceases with the arrival of the Governor, has been complimented in the Court of Policy on the manner in which he has executed his important duties. That the compliment was merited is the opinion of all classes of the people. Mr. Bruce has taken the opportunity to make himself personally acquainted with Berbice, Essequebo and Pomeroon, to see for himself the social condition of the people, and inspect the Government offices in these outlying districts, and the public works, certain of which crop up frequently in more or less acrimonious debate at the legislative meetings. With the knowledge he has thus gained he has qualified himself in a special degree for his office of Government Secretary and furnished himself with information that will be of great use in the future. Socially, the régime of the Lieutenant-Governor and Mrs. Bruce at Government House has been a success. Their sole desire seemed to be to make the House a centre of attraction for the people of the land, where not only would the Head of the Government and the people become acquainted, but the people would get to know each other. Their patronage too has been most liberally extended to every effort on the part of professionals or amateurs to provide entertainment or

amusement for the inhabitants. It is only natural that the inhabitants should feel very grateful to Mr. and Mrs. Bruce for their many kindnesses."

This was published in August 1887, after the first period of my administration of the Government. During every subsequent period I was equally fortunate. On the eve of my final departure the ladies of the Colony expressed their wish to present my wife with a valuable souvenir, in the form of jewelry. Such presentations were, however, not looked on with favour at the time, and at Lady Bruce's wish the Colony's recognition of our services took the form of an Address, presented at a Banquet on the 11th of July 1893. It was in the following terms:

"It has been felt by a large number of the leading inhabitants of the Colony that you should not be allowed to relinquish the administration of the Government on this occasion without some public expression being made of the sentiments entertained towards you by them, and they believe, by the people of the Colony generally, with reference to your conduct of affairs on this and on the three previous occasions on which you have administered the Government. These sentiments have been given expression to by means of the Banquet which has been tendered to you and which you are

now attending and by means of this Address. Since your arrival in the Colony, towards the close of the year 1885, you have industriously and unceasingly devoted your great abilities to the performance of the responsible duties of Government Secretary, and there can be no doubt that the public service has greatly benefited by the exercise of those abilities. But it is desired now to lay especial stress upon your course of conduct during the several periods of time, amounting altogether to about fifteen months, in which you have been at the head of the Colonial Government. During that time you have spared no pains, by visiting all the empoldered and cultivated parts of the Colony and by making expeditions into the interior, to make yourself fully acquainted with the position and circumstances of the various classes of the mixed population and with the material conditions of the Colony. Your efforts have been honestly and successfully directed to advance, in just and equal degree, the interests of those various classes, and to promote the prosperity and development of the Colony generally; and it will be conceded that your action has been guided by the principles of a vigorous and enlightened policy. In particular, all who are interested in this prosperity and development are under great obligations to you for the measures which you

have taken to further the extension of the important and rapidly growing gold industry.

"It is fitting that special acknowledgment should be made of the kind courtesy and hospitality invariably exercised by Lady Bruce and yourself during your sojourn at Government House.

"On your departure from these shores—which, it is understood, is about to take place immediately—the people of this Colony will feel regret at the loss of an able and zealous public servant, but they will at the same time derive satisfaction from the thought that your signal services are probably about to receive from Her Majesty that recognition which they have so well deserved. This at any rate is their earnest hope.

"Speaking on behalf of the subscribers to the Banquet, and though less directly we believe not less truly on behalf of the general public, we beg to offer Lady Bruce and yourself our best wishes for your continued good health, happiness and prosperity."

On my arrival in Grenada, the seat of government of the Windward Islands, I found, as I had found in British Guiana, that the financial position demanded my first consideration. In all the Windward Islands transport had been almost entirely by manual or animal portage prior to

1885, when one of my predecessors, Sir Walter Sendall, advocated and carried out in Grenada a vigorous policy of road construction, in combination with a no less vigorous policy of developing the natural resources of the Island by the establishment of a botanical garden for the promotion of improved methods of agriculture and the introduction of new plants and products. At the same time the policy of road construction was logically extended to the improvement of the coasting trade by the maintenance of an efficient service of steamers. This policy was further extended by his successor, Sir Walter Hely Hutchinson, to the improvement of harbours and the establishment of direct steam communication with New York. But the necessary expenditure had been met mainly by loans, and at the time of my arrival provision had to be made for a large annual charge for interest, and for the redemption of the debt. My predecessors had advised that these charges should be partly met by an export duty, but this advice had been overruled by the Colonial Office on the ground "of the well-known objection of Her Majesty's Government to export duties." In spite of my earnest representations and the continual shrinkage of revenue from taxation already raised to the straining point, the objection was maintained until in August 1896 Mr. Chamberlain, in

reply to a despairing appeal, telegraphed to me the brief but sufficient message "Consent to export duties." I was now free to prosecute the policy of my predecessors and to extend its benefits to the other administrative units of the Windward Islands, St. Vincent and St. Lucia. The Colonial Defence Committee at this time contemplated the concentration of troops in St. Lucia and Jamaica, and it was decided to make St. Lucia a naval base and fortified coaling station of the first importance. The commerce of the Windward Islands was thus brought into direct ocean communication with the markets of the whole world, while the advantages of cheap postal and telegraph services were supplemented by an admirable telephone service, first organised in Grenada in 1891, long before the telephone came into general use in the United Kingdom. In 1894 I obtained a loan for the establishment of a telephone system in St. Lucia, and before I left the Windward Islands a man-of-war or merchant vessel could within a few minutes of arrival have an apparatus placed on board, and be put in communication with every military or police station, every public and private office, and practically with every residence of the upper classes in the Colony.

In British Guiana it had been necessary to provide an appropriate population by immigration.

In the Windward Islands this was not necessary. There was a sufficient native population, but it was largely dependent on the precarious and fluctuating demand for labour on a few large estates. What was necessary was to promote the cultivation of the soil by a peasant proprietary having individually the strongest possible motives to work their holdings so as to secure a maximum of profit. The policy did not commend itself to some absentee proprietors supported by "influences" at home, but was warmly approved by Mr. Chamberlain. It required an appropriate system of education, and this was found by adapting to the local environment the principles on which I had organised the education of the people in Ceylon, while the botanic gardens established by my predecessors supplied valuable auxiliaries. Although the study of tropical medicine was still in its infancy, the question of health was not neglected. Grenada is a healthy island, but in St. Vincent my previous experience of tropical diseases was enlarged by the prevalence of the loathsome disease known as Yaws ; and an outbreak of yellow fever among the sailors and garrison at St. Lucia directed especial attention to the subject of quarantine. In British Guiana the question of a uniform system of quarantine had been studied in 1888 by a Conference of delegates from all the British West India Colonies,

but their Report, accompanied by a draft law, was still under the consideration of the Colonial Office. As further delay was impossible, I proceeded at once with the legislation necessary to establish a uniform system of quarantine for the Windward Islands, based on the draft submitted by the Conference.

As in British Guiana, I interested myself in the consolidation and revision of the criminal and civil laws of the Windward Islands. Complete uniformity was impossible, but under the direction of Sir Joseph Hutchinson, Chief Justice of Grenada, assisted by the Attorney-General of St. Vincent, a great advance was made in the preliminary process of assimilation exercised through the various stages of revision, consolidation and codification.

Throughout my administration of the Windward Islands my efforts to secure the co-operation of all the Churches as links of a chain of forces uniting the Empire were rewarded by the testimony of all the Protestant Churches, as well as by a letter addressed to me by the Roman Catholic Archbishop of the diocese:

"6th January, 1897.

"Your Excellency,

"I see from the telegrams of this morning that you have been gazetted to the Governorship of Mauritius. While expressing my deep regret for

your departure from among us, I beg to congratulate you on your well-deserved promotion, and to wish you every happiness and success in your new appointment.

"I take this opportunity of thanking you for the extreme courtesy with which you have always treated me and my letters, and for the fair and impartial manner with which you have dealt with questions touching Catholic interests during your administration of the Windward Islands. I have to thank you especially for having recently nominated another Catholic to the Legislative Council of Grenada."

Social life in the Windward Islands had a special charm, arising not only out of the variety of local interests in Grenada, St. Vincent and St. Lucia, but from their attractions to visitors from all parts of the world intent on business or in search of knowledge or pleasure or health. The annual visits of the North American Fleet supply an eagerly seized occasion for the interchange of social courtesies. In my own case, there have grown out of them many life-long friendships. At the time I am writing of, the centre of social intercourse between the Navy and Army and the civil residents was St. Lucia, where I for some time occupied Government House, for facility in deal-

ing on the spot with questions connected with the establishment of a great naval and military base and a fortified coaling station.

In the many duties that fell to the share of Lady Bruce during the whole period of my tenure of office in the Windward Islands, she was untiring in her devotion, and I recall with pleasure the assistance and aid she received from her sister, now Lady Hutchinson, the wife of my colleague as Chief Justice of Grenada.

Before my departure from the Windward Islands, an Address, signed by the senior official and unofficial members, was presented to me by the Legislative Council of Grenada:

"We, the members of the Legislative Council of Grenada, desire to offer our sincere congratulations to Your Excellency upon your promotion to be the Governor of Mauritius, and to express our regret at the severance in consequence thereof of the harmonious relations which have existed between this Council and yourself.

"The three years of Your Excellency's administration have unfortunately been a period of severe financial depression for this Colony, and the resources of the Government have been further tried during your term of office by annually recurrent floods, causing an abnormal expenditure not experienced by other recent administrations. We

recognise with satisfaction the prudence and care with which under these trying conditions Your Excellency has conducted the affairs of the Colony, which, notwithstanding these drawbacks, has not lost ground under your Government, and in which many useful and substantial public works remain as a record of your administration.

"We assure Your Excellency of our cordial goodwill, and we wish both Lady Bruce and yourself every success in the new field of work to which you have been called."

After I had left the Colony Mr. Chamberlain sent me a copy of a despatch he had addressed to the Officer Administering the Government in these generous terms:

"Downing Street,
"23 March, 1897.

"Sir,

"With reference to Sir C. Bruce's despatch No. 16 of the 7th of January expressing his acceptance of the appointment of Governor of Mauritius, I desire to place on record my appreciation of the manner in which he has discharged the duties of Governor of the Windward Islands during a period latterly of some anxiety and difficulty caused by the continued depression in the Sugar Industry."

CHAPTER III

BACK TO THE EAST, 1897 TO 1903

I

LADY BRUCE and I arrived in Mauritius on 11th May 1897, and received a welcome which I acknowledged a few days later in my speech from the Throne on opening a Session of the Legislature:

"Honourable Gentlemen
of the Council of Government.

"On my return to Mauritius, after an absence of nearly twelve years, to undertake the duties of the high office to which Her Majesty has been pleased to call me, I have received a generous welcome. I make no endeavour to express in eloquent phrases my gratitude for the reception I have been accorded. The only adequate response I can make is the unostentatious devotion of my life to the duties of my office in a spirit of equal sympathy with all classes of the community. A long colonial experience has taught me that a

Governor, however ingenious a master of rhetoric he may be, must eventually be judged by performance rather than words, by what he does rather than by what he says. Appreciating to the full how largely the success of my own endeavours must depend on your co-operation and support in the discharge of the important duties jointly committed to us, I have gladly availed myself of the earliest opportunity to open the Session and to ask for a generous measure of your confidence and assistance in the labours in which we are from this day associated."

It was impossible for me to realise at the time the magnitude of the task in which I was inviting the co-operation of the Council, but it was quite in accordance with my previous administrative experience to find that our first and immediate concern was to deal with financial difficulties arising out of a recent series of misfortunes.

Early in 1892 Mauritius was visited by a hurricane, which in a few hours killed 1260 people, wounded 4000, rendered 50,000 homeless, knocked down twenty-four churches and chapels, and many public buildings. On the sugar estates it destroyed many mills, with their costly machinery, and reduced a promising crop by one-half. In order to appreciate the effects of this

hurricane, it must be borne in mind that there are in Mauritius few accumulated fortunes ; capital is almost exclusively domiciled in Europe, and, as regards the Indian traders, in India. The bulk of the community lives on the annual proceeds of the sugar crop. From this source are derived public and private salaries, professional emoluments, and the wages of the working community.

In 1893 a great fire lapped up what the hurricane had left in the principal business area of Port Louis.

Against these disasters the general community struggled with a courage worthy of the great traditions of Mauritian history. In the Indian community the merchants exercised a generosity which earned the grateful acknowledgment of the Colony and the thanks of the Imperial and Indian Governments. At the other end of the social scale, the indentured labourers on the estates volunteered to accept a reduction of their statutory wages.

There followed a short crop, an enhanced cost of supplies from India due to famine and plague, and allied complications leading to a financial crisis. It had to be met by government assistance to the Banks, a loan to planters (punctually repaid with a margin of profit), and the suspension of specie payments—measures of grave anxiety only justified by the peril they successfully averted.

It was hardly averted when an epidemic of plague broke out. Apart from the fatality of the disease, which, so far at least as the Asiatic community is concerned, is perhaps the smallest of its terrors, it is attended by subsidiary difficulties and dangers arising largely out of the measures adopted to arrest its progress. These have now got to be understood in this country by the records of experience in India. They affect smaller communities with even more acute severity, and they strained the courage and the resources of the Colony in a way that can hardly be realised by those who have had no similar experience.

During this season of local adversity the Colony was not unmindful of its partnership in the fortunes of the Empire during a critical period of the war in South Africa. In 1899 every available man of the British troops in the garrison was placed at the service of the War Office, and a liberal sum was voted by the Council, to be offered to the Government of Natal for the benefit of the wounded and sick of the Imperial and Colonial forces engaged in the war. For my services in connection with the war I three times received the thanks of H.M. Government, as well as the thanks of the Government of Natal. To the people of Mauritius the thanks of Queen Victoria were conveyed through the Secretary of State, the thanks

of King Edward through the Duke of Cornwall and York in person on his visit to the Colony.

It was remarkable with what faith the Colony clung throughout this long season of adversity to the chain which links the Empire to the Crown as a sure and steadfast anchor of hope. The Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria, Her Majesty's demise, the accession and coronation of King Edward, revealed a sentiment of attachment to the Crown superior to all considerations of race or creed. Especially opportune was the visit of their present Majesties, then Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York, in uniting the population in a common patriotism and confirming the constancy and courage of which their Royal Highnesses showed a generous appreciation. Within an hour of their arrival they had transubstantiated into an Imperial ideal the material elements of Colonial existence. The reply of His Royal Highness to the Addresses presented by representatives of every section of the community animated all with an inspiring sense of Imperial services rendered and generously acknowledged. He said:

"It will be a great satisfaction to me to convey to my dear Father the King, your assurances of loyalty to his Throne and Person, and to make known to him that spirit of affectionate devotion

to the memory of our late beloved Queen so strongly evinced in these communications.

"I note with especial satisfaction from the Addresses of those non-European Communities who have made their home among you that they are living in contentment under the rule of their King Emperor in Mauritius.

"We have looked forward with keen interest to visiting your beautiful Island, rich in its honourable traditions, in the history of literature and statesmanship: proud of its association with naval achievements that shed equal glory on England and France.

"We deeply sympathise with you in that combination of adversities, altogether beyond your control, under which you have suffered during the past ten years.

"Meanwhile the whole Empire has watched with sympathetic admiration the constancy and courage by which you overcame your difficulties and the spirit that prompted you to contribute generously—in spite of your own imperilled fortunes—to the relief of your suffering fellow-subjects in India, the West Indies, and in South Africa.

"I rejoice to know that a day of brighter promise has dawned upon you—that the great staple of the Island continues to enjoy its long-established reputation, and that it is your earnest

endeavour to keep pace with the rest of the Empire in maintaining its commercial and mercantile pre-eminence.

"I fervently trust that under Divine Providence the people of Mauritius may ever remain a united, loyal and prosperous community."

The Duke's words of sympathy found an answering echo when the following day brought news of the death of the Empress Frederick of Germany. If this sad event limited the opportunity for popular manifestations of enthusiasm, every moment of their Royal Highnesses' stay strengthened a link in the chain of devotion that grapples this little island to the Empire, every day revealed an alert grasp of the bearing of a variety of interests on the general welfare of a complex community and an impartial sympathy with what is best in each. Very characteristic was the monster procession which filed past their Royal Highnesses on the day of their landing, and most touching was the homage paid to the Duchess by the thousands of school children who threw flowers at her feet as they passed by.

As long ago as 1870 the Duke of Edinburgh had laid the foundation stone of a meteorological observatory in Mauritius, from which have issued seismographic charts, a storm atlas, and a theory

of the law of storms, on which are based the sailing directions published for the guidance of mariners in the navigation of tropical seas. The Duchess devoted a whole day to visiting the station and informing herself of the methods by which these observations are made. She also gave her name to the first turbine steam life-boat acquired by the Government. And it will always be remembered with gratitude that the last hours of her visit were devoted to an inspection of the hospital of the convent of Notre Dame de Bon Secours. It was a gracious recognition of the services rendered by the Sisters in every post of danger, and particularly in the Plague Hospital, during a season of trial hardly paralleled in the history of our Crown Colonies.

So far as was possible the ceremonies at Le Réduit, the Governor's residence, were arranged and designed to present to the Duke and Duchess characteristic aspects of the society endeared to Lady Bruce and myself by many years of intimate friendship and co-operation. So far as the society of European origin is concerned, the English element is small, and stands in much the same relation to the French element as the corresponding elements of Canadian society. The predominant influence is that of the French families, who enjoy the respect still entertained in England and even

in republican France for a small circle of society where the traditions of birth are associated with personal virtues finding expression in the sentiment *noblesse oblige*. They cling to each other "in either fortune" with a brave tenacity of attachment. In the Duke's happy phrase at the Guildhall after the completion of his Colonial tour, they are "gifted with all the charming characteristics of old France."

During the stay of their Royal Highnesses the Chief Justice, Mr. Victor Delafaye, received the honour of knighthood, and at an Investiture held at Le Réduit, I received the Grand Cordon of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, while the Companionship of the Order was conferred on Mr. W. T. A. Edwards, Senior Unofficial Member of the Executive Council, and on Mr. Pierre Edmond de Chazal, a representative of the community of French descent.

On August 8th, the day of their departure, Lady Bruce and I were presented by the Duke and Duchess with precious souvenirs. To Lady Bruce the Duchess gave a gold and enamel bracelet; to myself the Duke gave a silver vessel with a commemorative inscription. We took leave of their Royal Highnesses on board the "Ophir."

Before their departure, I received from Sir Arthur Bigge the following communication:

"H.M.S. 'Ophir,'
"August 8, 1901.

"Your Excellency,

"I am directed by the Duke of Cornwall and York to ask you to be so good as to convey to the Reception Committee, to the Heads of Government Departments and other Officials, as well as to the Mayor and Town Councillors of Port Louis, the thanks of His Royal Highness for the care and trouble bestowed by them on all the arrangements in connection with his visit to Mauritius.

"The Duchess and he were much gratified by the hearty reception accorded to them by all sections of the population, and they greatly admired the tasteful and effective manner in which the streets were decorated.

"His Royal Highness particularly asks that his appreciation of the Police arrangements may be communicated to the Inspector-General.

"His Royal Highness is also desirous that the Officer Commanding the Troops may be informed of his entire approval of the general appearance and steadiness under arms of the troops which lined the streets and furnished the various Guards of Honour.

"To Your Excellency and Lady Bruce Their Royal Highnesses wish me to express their grati-

tude for the kindness they received during their stay at Réduit, while I am also to thank the Residents who hospitably received and entertained the various members of the Staff.

"I have, etc.,

"ARTHUR BIGGE."

From the "Ophir," on her voyage, gracious and welcome letters were sent to Lady Bruce and myself by their Royal Highnesses and members of their suite:

"At Sea between Mauritius and Durban,

"H.M.S. 'Ophir,'

"11th August, 1901.

"Dear Lady Bruce,

"I take the opportunity of a fairly smooth day to write you a few lines to thank you and Sir Charles for your kindness to us during our very pleasant stay at Mauritius, which we greatly enjoyed. Our only regret was that we had to leave a day earlier than we expected, for it was so nice and restful at Le Réduit, and we were most comfortable there. It certainly is a lovely place and the garden and grounds are beautiful. We trust you are not feeling very tired after all the exertions you have had lately, and that the heat at Port Louis on Thursday did not upset you. With

many kind remembrances to Sir Charles and yourself,

"Believe me,

"Yours very sincerely,

"VICTORIA MARY."

"H.M.S. 'Ophir,'

"At Sea,

"Aug. 12th, 1901.

"My dear Sir Charles,

"We hope to reach Durban to-morrow morning, and before we arrive I wish to send you one line, to thank you and Lady Bruce for all your kindness during our stay at Le Réduit. We enjoyed our visit to Mauritius very much, and I assure you that I shall always take great interest in everything connected with the island and its people. Both the Duchess and I were much pleased with the very warm welcome we received, and we shall always retain the pleasantest recollections of our too short visit.

"On the whole we have had a fine passage, but we got into a heavy sea off the coast of Madagascar, which was far from pleasant.

"With many kind messages to Lady Bruce, and with my renewed thanks,

"Believe me,

"Dear Sir Charles,

"Very sincerely yours,

"GEORGE."

RHODES HOUSE OXFORD LIBRARY

"H.M.S. 'Ophir,'
"Aug. 12, 1901.

"My dear Sir Charles,

"I venture to ask you to be so kind as to give me a photograph of Réduit, which I should much like to put in my book as a souvenir of your beautiful home. I asked one of our Staff to get me one at Port Louis, but he was unable to do so.

"I hope that Lady Bruce and you are recovering from the effects of our invasion! *I* wish it had been possible to prolong it!

"We land at Durban in the morning, weather permitting.

"With kind regards to Lady Bruce and my renewed thanks for all your kindness to me,

"Yours very truly,
"ARTHUR BIGGE."

Lady Mary Lygon wrote:

"August 19, 1901,
"H.M.S. 'Ophir,'
"Capetown.

"Dear Lady Bruce,

"I have wished for several days to write and thank both you and Sir Charles for all your kindness to us during our visit to Mauritius, but

I wanted at the same time to wait until I had delivered your message to Sir Walter and Lady Hely Hutchinson. I hope that you were not too much overtired with all you did that week. . . .

"With again many thanks,

"Believe me,

"Yrs. sincerely,

"MARY LYGON."

To the Duchess' letter Lady Bruce replied:

"Government House,

"Mauritius,

"Sept. 6th, 1901.

"Dear Duchess of Cornwall,

"On behalf of Sir Charles Bruce and myself I beg leave to thank you for your letter of the 11th August. It will be to us an additional souvenir of the visit of Your Royal Highnesses to Réduit and of the constant kindness and consideration shown to us, of which we shall ever retain a grateful sense.

"Your Royal Highness' obedient Servant,

"CLARA BRUCE."

After the completion of the Colonial tour, we continued to receive welcome letters referring to the visit. Sir Donald Wallace wrote:

"Sandringham,
"Norfolk,
"9 Nov. 1901.

"Dear Sir Charles,

"Many thanks for your kind note and congratulations on our safe arrival home. I have to thank you also for the pamphlets about Mauritius, which have reached me safely.

"The tour remained a great success to the very end. Not a hitch anywhere! Of course we all retain most agreeable recollections of *your* earthly Paradise and of the kind hospitality which we there received.

"We are to-day celebrating the King's birthday, and I am happy to say he is in excellent health. The alarmist rumours in the press are happily entirely without foundation. I have been here for about a week, and I have never seen him in better spirits.

"Please give my kind remembrances to Lady Bruce, and believe me,

"Yours sincerely,
"DONALD M. WALLACE."

A letter from Sir Arthur Bigge showed that His Royal Highness, then Prince of Wales, continued to take an active interest in Mauritius:

"York House,
"St. James's Palace, S.W.,
"Decr. 19th, 1901.

"My dear Sir Charles,

"Thank you sincerely for so kindly remembering my petition for photographs of your beautiful home, which I am very glad to possess.

"The Princess has received the photographs taken by Mr. Bagot, and you will hear shortly from Sir Charles Cust about them.—When we were in Mauritius, the Presdt. of the Chamber of Commerce spoke to me about the urgent want of improved harbour facilities at Port Louis, and asked if H.R.H. could do anything with the Colonial Office to help matters. Consequently I wrote to the C.O. in H.R.H.'s name, and in reply it was stated that the question of 'additional covered quay space' asked for by the Brit. India Steam Navn. Co. had been referred to you and that a Despatch was to be addressed to you as to laying down additional moorings, etc.—Of course if any good results can accrue from the Royal visit and from the interest shown by the Prince in this particular matter he will be much pleased.

"Please accept my hearty good wishes for the New Year, and believe me,

"Yours very truly,
"Arthur Bigge."

A few days later Prince Alexander of Teck wrote to Lady Bruce:

"Jany. 11th, 1902,
"South Cavalry Barracks,
"Aldershot.

"Dear Lady Bruce,

"I write to thank you for so kindly sending me the post card with good wishes, and beg you will convey the same to Sir Charles.

"We had a big lunch at the Mansion House on our return, which was a great success in every way. My Brother-in-law spoke especially well. Everyone at home seems to have followed the tour with interest and enthusiasm, and I think that really now people are beginning to know something of the places over which the various Governors keep a watchful eye. . . .

"With all good wishes to you and Sir Charles for 1902,

"I remain,

"Yours sincerely,

"ALEXANDER GEORGE OF TECK."

II

UNFORTUNATELY the good wishes of the Royal visitors and their suite for the prosperity of Mauritius were not to be realised in 1902. In that year the epidemic of plague was followed by an epizooty of the disease known as surra, which attacked horses, mules and cattle with cruel severity, and from an economic point of view was more disastrous than the plague. Such was the fatality of the disease that within a year it dislocated the whole system of transport by animal draught throughout the Colony, and it became necessary to substitute, at enormous cost, a mechanical system of transport by means of light railways, surface and overhead tramways and automobiles. The consequences of the loss of animals affected not only the sugar industry, but every department of public and private activity, including the work of sanitation in both urban and rural districts.

An independent witness wrote of the courage with which this calamity was met in terms which I may well recite:

"When one knows the extraordinary courage with which planters, overseers and labourers alike here have faced the plague, cattle disease and torrential rains to which they have been exposed during the course of the last two years, and that

planters have not shrunk from any sacrifice to maintain, and generally to maintain with intelligence, their estates ; and when one knows and has seen the Indian labourers, owing to the dearth of draught animals, harnessing themselves to heavy carts and dragging them along the estate roads in the middle of the rains, willingly and cheerfully bearing all hardships to finish the crop, I cannot think that classes which show such spirit to maintain an industry, which is capable of doing well in fair competition with the world, should be allowed to sink, and that no hand will be held out to them in their time of trial."

During this period of adversity the popular conscience was guided and controlled by the influence of the unofficial members of Council, aided by the leaders of the Indian community within their sphere of influence. And fortunately the Colony had in its civil service a body of men steeped in the sympathy of common interests with the sentiments of the people. In the strain put on the departments every demand was met with patience and industry, many pressing emergencies with conspicuous ability and fertility of resource.

It will easily be understood how gravely this series of untoward events affected the Colony's finances. Exceptional measures had to be taken

to meet the strain of a series of exceptional emergencies. The period of the financial year was changed to adapt it to the seasons of the sugar crop. The whole system of keeping, auditing and rendering the Colony accounts was recast, and a new procedure was adopted in submitting the estimates to the Council of Government, so that the unofficial members, a body including representatives of the principal mercantile firms well versed in accounts, might have more ample facilities for examining them. Coincidently, the principal departments of government, including the customs and the post office, were the subject of inquiry by commission. On these committees the elected members of Council and other gentlemen outside of the official sphere gave their time and experience, so that the departments might at the same time be adapted to public exigencies and placed on a business footing. But above all, in view of the principal causes of the Colony's misfortunes, the department of health and sanitation was made the subject of an exhaustive inquiry, having for its aim to adapt the department to the requirements of the new science of tropical medicine, and the demands made on it by the exigencies of malaria, plague and surra. A scheme was also prepared by a special Committee for the establishment of an Analytical and Bacteriological Labora-

tory. In the Education Department Training Schools were opened, a system of Engineering and Horticultural Apprenticeships organised, and a Professor of Agricultural Chemistry appointed. In the Judicial Department substantial progress was made in the revision and codification of the civil and criminal law.

The visit of the Prince and Princess of Wales was followed during this renewed period of adversity by the Coronation of King Edward, in circumstances that touched the heart of the Empire. History can furnish few examples of an Empire governed by emotion as the British Empire was governed during the period of the King's illness which postponed the date of the Coronation. During the Royal visit of 1901 the Princess had laid the foundation of a statue of Queen Victoria as a memorial of the visit, and on the day of the Coronation, August 8, I unveiled the completed statue. I said:

"The erection of this statue of her late Majesty Queen Victoria has been associated with two events which will certainly be marked with white in the annals of the Colony. Just a year ago the first stone of the pedestal on which the statue is placed was laid by Her Royal Highness the Princess of Wales, in the presence of Her Majesty's grandson, and I have now the honour of unveiling it at the

very moment when the imperial succession is, by the solemn act and ceremony of the Coronation, passing formally to Her Majesty's son. But not only has the erection of the statue been happy in point of time ; we shall all, I think, agree that the site has been happily chosen. Here at the gate of Government House, the seat of administration and place of assembly of the legislative body of the Colony, it will be given to future generations to recognise an outward and visible sign and symbol of the principles that underlie the unwritten constitution of the Empire. For however diverse may be the forms of local government throughout the Empire, the principles on which they rest are the same ; in public life the principle of freedom of person, freedom of speech, freedom of religious belief and faith ; in the administration of justice the principle of absolute equality before the law for all sorts and conditions of men ; in commerce, in the largest sense of this term, the policy of the open door ; and in private and social life the policy of the open heart and open hand—the heart open to sympathy alike in joy and sorrow ; the hand open to welcome, embrace, support and aid."

Throughout the Colony of Mauritius and its Dependencies the Coronation was celebrated, if

with less of pomp and ceremony than among wealthier communities, certainly not with less of loyalty and sincerity. In reporting that he had laid before His Majesty the King the Address of the Council of Government and copies of telegrams sent on the occasion, Mr. Chamberlain added that His Majesty had desired him to express the cordial satisfaction with which he had received these tokens of loyalty and sympathy, and his wish that I should convey to his people in Mauritius an assurance of his high appreciation of their attachment to his throne and person.

My term of office was now approaching its end, and it was to close as every Colonial Governor might well desire his tenure of office to close. On the 27th of December I telegraphed to the Secretary of State:

"On December 24th, on the motion of the Senior Unofficial Member, it was unanimously resolved as follows: Council of Government in view of the financial difficulties with which Colony is contending and of the wisdom and long experience of His Excellency the Governor of Mauritius, resolved that it is very desirable that Sir Charles Bruce should remain at the head of the Government hereof for some months longer after the completion of his term of office, and beg that His Excellency be pleased, if agreeable to him, to

transmit this resolution for the favourable consideration of the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

"Relying on your confidence and sympathy in whatever difficulties may arise, I place my services unreservedly at your disposal."

On the 8th of January Mr. Chamberlain replied:

"It gives me much pleasure to inform you that His Majesty has been graciously pleased to approve of the extension of your term of office until the 31st December next."

I recall with pleasure the congratulations I received on this occasion from Admiral Sir Archibald Douglas, Admiral Sir Charles Drury, both now deceased, and Admiral (now Sir) Day Hort Bosanquet. Throughout my tenure of office my relations with the Naval Authorities in everything connected with the Colonial Scheme of Defence, as well as in our social and personal intercourse, had been of the happiest. With regard to the Scheme of Defence I will only say that the result of my co-operation with the Naval and Military Authorities was that, before I left Mauritius, we were prepared to bring the whole Scheme into operation within twenty-four hours of a notice of declaration of war.

But to the public anxieties of my office, now held in circumstances which afforded me a legitimate cause of pride and pleasure, was to be added a period of personal anxiety and sorrow, which I must interrupt my narrative to record.

My son, Charles Maurice Dundas, was born in Mauritius on June 4, 1869, and almost from his infancy was a special favourite with many of the naval officers who visited the Colony, to whom he was known as Bábá. His early photographs generally represent him in sailor dress, wearing the ribbon of one of H.M. ships. I have also a photograph of an Austrian frigate which called at Mauritius on a voyage of circumnavigation and research, on the back of which is inscribed:

Meinem kleinen freunde Bábá
zur Erinnerung,
den 16 Juli, 1874.
Schäffer, Capt.

By this name he continued to be known to the time of his death by the Governor, Sir Arthur Gordon, and Captain Arthur Havelock, then Secretary to the Governor. After two visits to England he accompanied his mother and younger brothers to Ceylon in 1879, where he resided for a short time, endearing himself to many friends in Colombo, Kandy and Nuwara-Eliya. In 1882

he left Mr. Hawtrey's school at Windsor and entered Harrow in the house of Mr. Hutton, who on his leaving the school paid a fine testimony to his character, expressing his regret at the loss his house and the school would sustain in being deprived of his manly and straightforward example. After leaving Harrow, he studied for some time with Mr. Wren, an eminent Civil Service "coach" of that day, and subsequently in France at Tours and Paramé. In 1886 he decided to adopt the profession of arms and studied under Mr. James, another eminent "coach." During this year he was staying with me at St. Andrews, and was recruited on the golf course by Miss Anstruther, of the house of Balcaskie, for the Fife Artillery Militia. Later in the year he paid a visit to British Guiana, where I was administering the Government, and acted as my Private Secretary, accompanying me on several expeditions into the interior. In 1891 he obtained a Commission in the Royal Artillery, passing first among the Militia Artillery competitors. He was attached to a Field Battery and proceeded at once to India. During the leisure of peace, he devoted himself energetically to the soldierly sports of polo and pigsticking. In 1897, during the operations on the North-West Frontier of India, he first saw service with the Mohmand Field Force, being attached to the 3rd

Mountain Battery, British Artillery. Towards the close of these operations he was invalided, but recovered his health in time to rejoin the Battery and take part in the Tirah Expedition. For his services on the North-West Frontier he received the medal and two clasps. At the close of the campaign he was again invalided, but allowed to proceed to Mauritius, where he acted as my A.D.C. from April to September 1898. While he received a hearty welcome in every family in which he had been known in childhood as Bábá, he added appreciably to the charm of the relations between Government House and the Naval and Military Officers of all ranks.

On his return to India in September, Admiral Sir Archibald Douglas took him as his guest on board his Flagship to Ceylon, where he had time to renew acquaintance with many old friends. After his return to India he passed his examination for the rank of Captain, the result being first communicated to him in an unofficial letter from a friend:

"Royal Artillery Office,
"Madras Command,
"Ootacamund,
"26.6.1900.

"My dear Bruce,

"You have passed 'E' brilliantly, getting 'Distinguished,' on which I congratulate you

heartily. I think I may also let you know that in forwarding inspection reports to War Office the C. in C. in India made some flattering remarks about you. I hope you will get whatever it is you want. China, I suppose, is out of the question for English Army; except one Battery and Sappers, only Indian troops and Staff Corps Officers are being sent.

"I trust you found your Father better.

"Wishing you luck,

"Ever yours, etc."

In the meantime, I had been making every endeavour to support his desire for service in Africa.

On 16th November Major-General Talbot Coke, the Officer Commanding the Troops in Mauritius, received orders to proceed to South Africa, and wrote to me:

"Quatre Bornes,

"Mauritius,

"16th Novr. 1899.

"My dear Sir Charles,

"I know of no Officer that I would rather have as A.D.C. than your Son, and had he been in Mauritius it would have been a great pleasure to me to take him to South Africa. But I am sorry to say that the conditions under which I am going

make it necessary to take an Officer quartered in this Island, and I have had to submit the name of an Artillery Officer whom I know little of.

"I only hope that I may be successful in trying to get Maurice to the Transvaal later. I need not say how happy it will make me at any time if I can be of use to him.

"Believe me,

"Yours sincerely,

"J. TALBOT COKE."

A few weeks later Maurice received orders to hold himself in readiness to proceed to South Africa, and we were hoping he might call at Mauritius on his way when we received a letter from him:

"Saint Thomas' Mount,

"Madras,

"Jan. 27, 1900.

"My dear old Father,

"I am writing in rather bad spirits as I heard yesterday privately from Simla that the C.I.C. has refused to allow any more Artillery Officers to leave this country, which practically closes our chance of going, as was originally intended. It appears that orders were received from home to the effect that one Subaltern Officer from each Battery was to be held in readiness to proceed to S.A. to

replace casualties. The C.I.C. has, however, urged strongly that no more Artillery Officers should leave this country. On receipt of the above news, I despatched a telegram to Genl. Coke, asking him to try and get me attached to one of the irregular cavalry regiments that are being raised at the Cape. I do not, however, expect to get any satisfaction from it beyond the satisfaction of having done the best in my power to get out. Had I known more definitely about the chance of our going being so small I should have wired to the General a fortnight ago. You may imagine that I am bitterly disappointed about the whole affair, as to have missed this war is practically to be out of the running with the men who have been through it. . . .

"I am afraid this is not a very cheerful letter, as I am so frightfully cut up about not being able to get out to the war."

Continuing my endeavours to have him selected for service in South Africa, I received from the Colonial Office the following communication:

"Downing Street,
"25 June 1900.

"Sir,

"With reference to Mr. Secretary Chamberlain's telegram of the 19th instant, I am directed

to inform you that, on receipt of your telegram of the 12th instant, he caused a further communication to be addressed to the War Office regarding Captain Bruce's application to be selected for special service in South Africa, stating that he would be grateful to Lord Lansdowne if he would have the matter further considered.

"2. It appears, however, from the reply which has now been received that Captain Bruce's services are so urgently needed with the Battery which he is to join at Exeter that it is impossible to allow him to proceed to South Africa.

"3. Under these circumstances, Mr. Chamberlain fears that it is impossible for him to take any further action in the matter, but he much regrets that Captain Bruce's wishes could not under the circumstances be acceded to.

"I am, Sir,
"Your obedient Servant,
"H. BERTRAM COX."

In July I left Mauritius for England on leave of absence, and renewed my intimacy with Admiral Sir Archibald Douglas, then a Lord of the Admiralty. Maurice was now serving in a Battery stationed at Newcastle, and an introduction given him by Sir Archibald led to a friendship which was to be one of the happiest recollections of our

life. On the demise of Queen Victoria in January 1901, I was honoured by a command to attend the funeral ceremonies as representative of Mauritius. Through Admiral Douglas' friendship, I was the guest of the Commander-in-Chief on board his Flagship, the "Victory," during the passing of the Queen's body from the Isle of Wight to Portsmouth, and on the next day I was present in St. George's Chapel, Windsor, during the funeral service.

Throughout this period, Admiral Douglas had been untiring in his support of Maurice's desire for active service, and a few days before the Queen's demise he received the following letter from the Foreign Office:

"January 5th, 1901.

"Sir,

"I am directed by the Marquess of Lansdowne to inform you that you are appointed a Captain under the administration of the Somali Coast Protectorate at a salary of Five hundred pounds (£500) per annum, inclusive of all allowances, for service with the local levy now being raised there.

"This salary will be payable monthly by the Crown Agents for the Colonies, Downing Street, S.W., on receipt of a duly authorised form of life

certificate which will be supplied to you. Half pay at the above rate will be issued from the date of your embarkation, and full salary from the date of your arrival at Berbera.

"You should leave for that port as soon as possible, and should for that purpose place yourself in communication with the Crown Agents, who have been authorised to arrange for your passage to Aden ; your travelling expenses beyond that place will be reimbursed to you.

"As soon as you have settled the date of your departure, you should notify it to this Department.

"I am, Sir,

"Your most obedient, humble Servant,

"FRANCIS BERTIE."

His mother and I accompanied him to Folkestone to see him off, and the last words he said to me were: "Father, if I die, I shall die like a gentleman."

In April I left England on my return to Mauritius, and we received letters addressed to us from Berbera, Burao and Upper Sheik. On July 15th he wrote from Burao:

" . . . I am all right. . . . I hope to be out of this country in two or three weeks."

On July 30th he wrote from Upper Sheik that the show was now finished so far, but expressed a belief

that the Mullah would be back in the course of a year or so.

He arrived in England on 26th August, and in a Despatch addressed by Lt.-Colonel Swayne to Consul-General Sadler, dated London, November 10th, his services were commended in these terms:

"Captain C. M. Bruce, R.F.A., commanded and raised the Camel Corps. His knowledge of mounted work proved most useful. He is active and tireless. He had trying work in escorting the undisciplined hired caravans from Berbera to Burao, but managed very well through hard work and patience. I hope he will be rewarded."

His belief that the Mullah would be "back here in the course of a year or so" was realised.

On February 27th, 1902, he wrote to us from Preston Barracks, Brighton, that there was likely to be another Expedition, and that he had volunteered for service. It was not, however, before October that he was selected as a Special Service Officer, and served in various capacities until April 1903, when he was appointed Staff Officer to Major Gough's Flying Column. He arrived at Aden on the 10th of November, and we continued to receive letters from him detailing the varying fortunes of the Expedition from Berbera, Bohotlé, Garrero, Burao and Danop. From Danop he

wrote in pencil on a slip of paper on the 20th of April:

"Just a line to say we arrived here all right, marching 113 miles in 2½ days. If this gets through it may reach you all right, but we think the last four messengers we sent were killed on the road. We are expecting to be heavily attacked at any moment."

On 27th April I wrote to him from Le Réduit, Mauritius:

"Dear Maurice,

"On the 24th we heard by telegram of the unfortunate affair which resulted in the loss of Plunkett's column. I telegraphed at once to the Resident at Aden to ask if he had any news of you. I received in the evening his reply:

'No news of Bruce; he was not in the affair of the 17th apparently.'

"This was a great comfort to us.

"Yesterday one telegram stated that Manning had relieved Cobbe and inflicted a heavy loss on the Mullah. These telegrams took us very much by surprise, as all our previous information led us to suppose that the Mullah was in flight and not likely to act on the offensive.

"God bless you, dear boy."

The letter was returned to me unopened.

On the afternoon of the same day I received a telegram from the War Office:

"Deeply regret to inform you telegram received from Bohotlé 26th April states your Son, Captain C. M. D. Bruce, Royal Artillery, killed in action 22nd April near Danop, Somaliland."

The telegram from the War Office was immediately followed by many hundreds of telegrams, letters and cards. On the 28th the Prince and Princess of Wales telegraphed their deepest sympathy, and Mr. Chamberlain followed. Every class of the community in Mauritius was represented in the assurances of sympathy addressed to us. I enumerated them in a Despatch to Mr. Chamberlain:

"Government House,
"Mauritius, 6th May 1903.

"Sir,

"In confirmation of my telegraphic Despatch of the 28th April, I beg you to accept my heartfelt thanks for the message of sympathy you were good enough to convey to me on the death of my Son, Captain C. M. D. Bruce, R.A. I shall ever remember with gratitude that in the year 1900 you supported my Son's desire for employment as Special Service Officer in South Africa,

as you were good enough to inform me by your Despatch No. 84 of the 23rd March 1900.

"2. At the same time that I received your message I received, as you are perhaps aware, a gracious message assuring me of the deep sympathy of the Prince and Princess of Wales.

"3. The sad bereavement I have sustained has called forth demonstrations of sympathy in Mauritius such as might almost be described as public mourning. From the Prelates and Clergy of the Christian Denominations, from Judges and Lawyers, from Members of the Council of Government, from the Military and Civil Departments, from the Municipality of Port Louis, from Boards of Commissioners, from Public and Private Associations, from the Press, from members of every class of the general community, from the representatives of the Asiatic population, I have received very touching expressions of sympathy with Lady Bruce and myself. I annex a copy of a public letter I addressed to the people of Mauritius in acknowledgment of their generous kindness.

"4. If anything can temper our sorrow it must be the consolation afforded us by the sympathy shown us when a soldier's death closed a soldier's life and discharged my gallant Son with honour from the service of his Sovereign.

"I have, etc."

My letter of acknowledgment addressed to the people of Mauritius was published in the Government Gazette of 30th April:

"Le Réduit,
"29th April 1903.

"My Dear Friends,

"A few months ago, at a moment when my tenure of office was nearly over, and when the fortunes of the Colony were in imminent peril, you invited me, through your representatives in the Council of Government, to stay among you yet a little longer, and work with you for the common good. I gladly accepted your invitation, and I believe that our work has been so far successful as to avert the most serious of the difficulties that threatened immediate disaster, by reason of want of funds to cultivate the coming crop, and give us reasonable hope that, by God's providence, we may reap an abundant harvest. The resources of the Colony have never been more severely tried; but the energy of every class has been equal to the occasion. The proprietors of the great estates are rapidly providing mechanical means of transport to take the place of the animal draught rendered impossible by the disease of surra; while the labouring community have, in circumstances often of great difficulty, substituted their own manual labour for that of the animals they have lost.

"In the labours and anxieties of the last four months I have, I confidently hope, associated myself with you to your satisfaction. Be that as it may, I have now received from you new and most touching marks of your friendship and goodwill in the many assurances of sympathy, both public and private, that have reached Lady Bruce and myself on the occasion of the death in action of our dear Son, Captain C. M. D. Bruce, R.F.A., while employed as Special Service Officer in Somaliland. You have bound us to Mauritius by the attachment of a new bond.

"By the kindness of the Resident at Aden, I have to-day been informed by telegram that my Son was wounded in the retirement of Major Gough's column on Danop and nearly captured. He was, however, gallantly rescued, but died of his injuries and was buried at Danop.

"In his last letters, Captain Bruce frequently expressed the hope that as soon as the Expedition was over, he might come to Mauritius and stay with us until the period of my administration is fulfilled. His wish and ours can no longer be realised, but I shall best honour his memory, and in some measure, it may be, return your kindness by making it, more strictly than ever, a rule for the conduct of my life that, during the remaining term of my administration, no day shall pass with-

out some kindly deed done or some work of useful labour accomplished for the benefit of Mauritius; so that at the fall of each succeeding night, I may be able to say: 'I have been not unworthy this day of the love of those who loved and honoured my Son.'

"In his birth, in his name Maurice, and in the circumstances of his death, Captain Bruce's memory will ever be associated by Lady Bruce and myself with our most affectionate recollections of Mauritius.

"Believe me, dear Friends,

"Very sincerely yours,

"CHAS. BRUCE."

Lord Knutsford wrote to me:

"Pinewood, Witley,

"Surrey, May 1, 1903.

"My dear Sir Charles,

"I only learnt yesterday that the Capt. Bruce who had died so gallantly for his country was your Son. I must send off a few lines of deepest sympathy from Lady Knutsford and myself to you and Lady Bruce. Your comfort must be in the knowledge that he died doing his duty, and in the very sincere sympathy of all your many friends.

"We are able all the more truly to feel for you,

as we lost our eldest Son as long ago as 1878, and our sorrow is still very fresh.

"Yours sincerely,

"KNUTSFORD."

On 7th May a memorial service, arranged for by my wife's sister, Mrs. George Macmillan, was held in St. Mary Abbots, Kensington, and on the same day a memorial service in St. John's Church, Moka, Mauritius. In perpetual remembrance, I presented a Lectern to St. John's Church, and erected a mural tablet with this inscription:

Ubique
Quo Fas et Gloria Ducunt.

To the Dear Memory
of
CHARLES MAURICE DUNDAS BRUCE,
Captain, Royal Field Artillery,
Eldest Son of
Sir Charles Bruce of Arnot,
G.C.M.G., Governor of Mauritius,
and Clara his Wife.
Born in Mauritius, 4th June 1869.
Killed in Action in Somaliland
22nd April 1903.

The circumstances in which he fell were subsequently described by Mr. Angus Hamilton, in his work on Somaliland, in these terms:

"Bruce dropped fatally wounded through the lungs. Major Gough, Captain Walker, and Captain Rolland, Lieutenant Horton, I.M.J., two men of the 2nd King's African Rifles, one Sikh (I.C., B.C.A.), one Somali Camel Corps Sowar, stopped, forming round him. Bruce, knocked over at the eleventh hour, after setting everyone the magnificent example of his bravery throughout the fight, scrambled to his feet, collapsing at once to a sitting position. In his condition, helpless and badly hit, he would have fallen at once into the hands of the enemy, and an attempt was made to carry him in a blanket. Unfortunately he proved too heavy. Major Gough called to the column, and a Bikanir Sowar brought back a camel, but foolishly let the animal loose before reaching the spot. At this moment Bruce was hit again, but Captain Rolland, running after the column, brought back another camel. The position of the little party was now extremely perilous, the enemy, leaving alone the column for a moment, endeavouring to cut off their retirement. However, while preparations were being made to place Bruce upon the camel, the wounded man gradually lapsed into unconsciousness and died, without ap-

parent pain, before he could be lifted to the beast. The party had now to regain their column, and though hotly opposed, succeeded in bringing back the body and themselves rejoining without further casualties."

I must add that His Majesty was pleased to confer upon Captains Walker and Rolland the Victoria Cross, while the Sikh was awarded the Order of Merit, and the men of the King's African Rifles the Medal for Distinguished Conduct in the field. At a later period Major Gough's own share in this incident was brought to notice by Brigadier-General Manning, and he also received the Victoria Cross.

On 23rd April Major Gough had written to me:

"Danop,
"90 miles S.W. of Bohotlé,
"Somaliland.

"Dear Sir Charles Bruce,

"I am afraid I have but the saddest of news to tell you, which you will have heard by telegraph already. Your Son, Captain Bruce, was killed yesterday in a sharp fight we had with the enemy at Daratoleh.

"We have all lost a great friend and a fine

soldier; personally I feel his loss most deeply. He was Staff Officer to my column, and we came out together to this country last November.

"You have the consolation of knowing that he died a most gallant death, as he was shot while with the rearguard, which was being heavily pressed at the time. He suffered in no way, as his death was practically instantaneous. His conduct during the whole day's fighting was most cool and quiet.

"I hope you will excuse my not writing more at present, but I have to write my official account of the fighting.

"Anything that I can tell you further I shall be only too pleased to tell you.

"Your Son was buried this morning close to our present zariba; I read the burial service.

"Please accept my most sincere sympathy in your loss; words cannot tell you how sorry and grieved I am.

"Yours sincerely,
"J. E. Gough, Major,
"Commanding Flying Column."

Letters from many other Officers present bore testimony to my son's cheery courage throughout the day to the moment of his death.

Maurice's career was in many ways typical of the lives of a large class of British Officers, the sons of fathers holding civil or military appointments in the service of the State abroad. Such Officers acquire in very early youth a knowledge and experience that seem to fit them peculiarly for their future service. But in their case the lives of fathers and sons are saddened by long years of separation only consoled and encouraged by the hope of rare meetings that bring with them indeed the fullest intensity of human happiness, while father and son alike are animated by the noblest incentive to duty in the ambition to be worthy each of the other in their devotion to the service of their Sovereign and their country.

I will only add that during the period which elapsed between the death of my son and my final departure from the Colony, a period of many difficulties, I remained faithful to the promises of my letter to the people of Mauritius, while the sympathy and co-operation of the community never failed me.

At the hour of my departure the people among whom I had long lived and laboured presented me with the following Address, signed by representatives of every section of the community, without distinction of rank, origin, creed or colour:

"Port Louis,
"Mauritius, 30th October 1903.

"May It Please Your Excellency,

"We, the undersigned, inhabitants of this Colony, and members of the different sections of its population, beg to assure you that we deeply regret to have to part from you. We have been so accustomed to see you moving among us, and you have been so long associated with our existence, that we are grieved to think that you are on the point of taking leave of us for ever.

"It seems indeed as if your life was intended to be linked to our destinies; for your career in the Colonial Service, which is now a pretty long one, was begun in Mauritius, and by far the greater part of it has been spent here. In the various posts you have occupied in this Island, you have rendered the most valuable services to us, but in none have these been more signal than in the high office from which you are about to retire.

"The period over which your administration extends has been one of constant care and anxiety. Within the last six years we have had to contend with numerous and serious difficulties; and if we have succeeded in weathering the storms we have encountered, if brighter days are now dawning upon us, it is, we gratefully acknowledge, thanks,

chiefly, to the able and fearless pilot we have had at our head.

"Of course, you have sometimes met with opposition, and, in that respect, you have not been more fortunate than any of your predecessors. This was unavoidable. Under our Constitution, such as it is, the Governor is vested with large and extensive powers, and, unless he makes up his mind to remain unconcerned with the affairs of the Colony, and casts off all sense of responsibility, there are circumstances in which he must exercise these powers. The manner in which you have yourself, in some cases, used them, has, naturally enough, given rise to dissatisfaction in certain quarters, but we are convinced that the discontent thus created has only been transient, and that, whatever criticisms some of your acts may have called forth, the purity and sincerity of your intentions, your unfailing desire to do what in your judgment appeared best for the public good, your single-minded devotion to duty, have never been questioned.

"On assuming the Government of the Colony, one of your first public utterances was that you would devote yourself without partiality or prejudice to the interests of the people entrusted to your care, and, with no difference, to all classes of the population alike. The pledge you then gave,

you have redeemed, and, of this, there could be no better proof than the tokens of sympathy, of regard, and of gratitude which you are receiving from all sides on the eve of your departure.

"Pray accept our best wishes for yourself and Lady Bruce. Though far away from us, you will both, we feel sure, continue to take an interest in the Colony where you have spent so many years. The ties which unite us to you, and which the sorrows we have shared with you have but more closely knitted, are too strong to be broken by our separation. As for us, you may be certain that we shall retain a fond and undying recollection of you."

Separate Addresses were presented to me by the Chambers of Agriculture and Commerce, the Municipality of Port Louis, the Mohammedan and Chinese Communities, and others.

On my return to England, I received the following letter from Mr. Chamberlain:

"Highbury,
"Moor Green,
"Birmingham,
"3 Decr. 1903.

"Dear Sir Charles Bruce,

"I am much obliged for your letter, and am glad to have a copy of your Address on leaving Mauritius.

"I am most grateful to you for all you did while you were Governor of the Island, and I appreciate very highly the public service you were able to render. I placed the greatest confidence in your judgment and discretion, and it was amply justified by the success of your administration.

"Believe me,

"Yours very truly,

"J. CHAMBERLAIN."

Lord Ripon wrote to me:

"Studley Royal,

"Ripon,

"Decr. 6, 1903.

"My dear Sir Charles,

"I have to thank you for your letter and the copy of your farewell Address which you have sent me. I am very glad to hear that you and Bishop O'Neill worked so cordially together. I wish you every happiness in your retirement, which has been earned by such long and good public service.

"Yours faithfully,

"RIPON."

Mr. Lyttelton sent me a copy of a Despatch he had addressed to the Officer Administering the Government of Mauritius:

"Downing Street,
"8 December 1903.

"Sir,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of Sir Charles Bruce's Despatches noted in the margin relating to his departure from Mauritius preliminary to retirement from the Service of the State.

"2. The long connection of Sir Charles Bruce with the Colony and the valuable services he has rendered to it fully justify the warm and universal expressions of esteem which I am glad to observe all classes of the people of Mauritius have so gracefully tendered to their departing Governor.

"3. I desire to take this opportunity of placing on record the high appreciation, entertained equally, as I am aware, by my predecessor as by myself, of the great services which Sir Charles Bruce has rendered to the Colonies during his long and distinguished career.

"4. A copy of this Despatch will be communicated to Sir Charles Bruce.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,
"Your most obedient, humble Servant,
"ALFRED LYTTELTON."

PART II

IN RETIREMENT

CHAPTER IV

1904 TO 1908

SOME years ago a distinguished member of the medical profession is reported to have said that when a man has reached the age of forty he is no longer capable of doing original work, and that at sixty he ought to be painlessly put out of the way. About the same time the same conception was expressed to me in appropriate terms by an Admiral, on whose Flagship I was making an official tour. He said that when his Commission was exhausted he hoped to be shot, the life of a retired Admiral being no less a nuisance to himself than to others. I expressed a fear that probably the same might be said of Colonial Governors. The Admiral, who recently died at the age of 82, was a living refutation of the theory, and it has been my endeavour to show that at least the theory is not of universal application. I now propose to illustrate the methods and results of my endeavour. I was naturally animated by a trinity of forces—

the memory of my colonial life, the memory of my soldier son, and the memory of my official and personal relations with the Crown.

My colonial life placed me of course at the disposal of the Colonial Office, and I eagerly sought the alliance of the principal agencies of Imperial interests in England, such as the Royal Colonial Institute, the Imperial Institute, the Schools of Tropical Medicine, the Colonial Nursing Association, the Empire League, the League of the Empire, the Victoria League, and the West India Committee. In February 1904, I began to take an active part in the meetings of the Colonial Institute. At a meeting on 9th February, I had an opportunity to recall some principal points of interest connected with my work in Ceylon, and at the annual meeting held a week later, I was invited to support a motion on the adoption of the Report, "congratulating the Fellows on the growth of the Imperial sentiment and the widespread desire that now prevails for the maintenance and consolidation of the Empire."

The London season was a period of daily activity in connection with the agencies I have indicated. In every case I was laying the foundation of new alliances in the work I had at heart—the consolidation of the political and economic interests of the Empire.

I had already begun to realise the almost incredible ignorance of the Empire which prevailed at the time. At a meeting of the Institute on 10th May, Lady Lugard, in the course of a paper on Africa, related that an ex-Cabinet Minister told her that all he knew of African geography was that Africa has a hump which sticks out somewhere into the sea, and that he believed our West African Colonies were there. About the same time a Cabinet Minister admitted his "colossal ignorance of India."

In Mauritius, Lady Bruce and I had taken a very active part in supporting the Nurses of the Colonial Nursing Association. We were now appointed members of its Council, and on 8th June I was invited to speak at the annual meeting, a privilege I was allowed to exercise for many years.

On 9th June I dined for the first time at the Corona Club, an association founded by the Colonial Office to promote facilities of social intercourse between Colonial Civil Servants from different parts of the Empire. At this dinner Mr. Lyttelton took the opportunity to thank me for the assistance I had given him on two occasions on the subject of measures proposed by the Officer Administering the Government of Mauritius and referred to me for my advice. The first dealt

with the organisation of the Medical and Health Department, a matter of supreme importance; the second with the financial position of the Colony. On both occasions he was guided by my advice, and I record with satisfaction a letter addressed to me on the subject by an Assistant Under-Secretary:

"Colonial Office,
"10 May.

"Dear Sir Charles Bruce,

"Many thanks for your letter of the 7th and its enclosure, which I now return.

"We have telegraphed to Mauritius, and are writing by this mail and to you also officially to inform you and them that Mauritius must adopt the course you propose.

"The papers have not yet passed the Secretary of State, but I have no doubt that he will approve what is proposed.

"We are much indebted to you now as always for your prompt and generous help.

"Sincerely yrs.,
"H. Bertram Cox."

A few days earlier, on the 5th May, Mauritius had been vividly recalled to my memory by a letter I received from the Colonial Office, authorising me to accept a silver dinner service which the Colony

proposed to present to me in commemoration of my services.

My connection with the Colonial Nursing Association prompted me to contribute to the *Empire Review* an article under the title of "Mr. Chamberlain and the Health of the Empire," in which I traced the history of the development of the agencies contributing to the prophylaxis and treatment of disease in the tropics, including the Colonial Nursing Association. It brought me a letter of acknowledgment from Mr. Chamberlain:

"Highbury,
"Moor Green,
"Birmingham,
"Sep. 1, 1904.

"Dear Sir Charles Bruce,

"I read your article in the *Empire Review* with very great interest, and am grateful for the complimentary way in which you speak of my small services. It is true that the whole question occupied me a great deal during the course of my administration, but the progress made is chiefly due to the scientists like Major Ross and Sir Patrick Manson, and in the second place to the Governors who in many Colonies gave me so much practical assistance.

"I hope the movement will go on, as I believe

that one of the greatest factors in the future of our Colonial Empire is the health of those who have to administer it.

"Believe me,

"Yours very truly,

"J. CHAMBERLAIN."

An immediate consequence of this article was an invitation to give the inaugural Address at the opening of the Winter Session of the London School of Tropical Medicine, founded in 1899, on Mr. Chamberlain's initiative, by the Committee of Management of the Seamen's Hospital Society. My Address, delivered on 7th October, was published in full in the *British Medical Journal*, and brought me many congratulations from Mr. Chamberlain and others.

I subsequently paid two visits to the Liverpool School of Tropical Medicine in connection with the establishment by the University of a department of tropical veterinary medicine in association with the Institute of Comparative Pathology. This was the practical outcome of a speech by the late Professor Nocard, of Paris, delivered on May 11, 1903, at the Conference of Tropical Medicine held in Liverpool. It was mainly based on the causes and consequences of the outbreak of surra in Mauritius to which I have referred. My

second visit was on the occasion of the opening of the Veterinary School. I was the guest of the late Sir Rubert Boyce, Dean of the School of Tropical Medicine, and every hour of my stay with him was fruitful of instruction.

I pass on to the memory of my soldier son. Soon after his death, with the consent of the Governors, I had erected in the Chapel of Harrow School a tablet bearing this inscription:

To the Dear Memory of an Old Harrovian
CHARLES MAURICE DUNDAS BRUCE,
Captain, Royal Field Artillery,
Born June 4, 1869, Killed in Action
in Somaliland April 22, 1903.
This Tablet is erected by his Father,
an Old Harrovian,
Sir Charles Bruce, G.C.M.G.,
Governor and Commander-in-Chief
of Mauritius and its Dependencies.
"Soldier, Rest! Thy Warfare O'er."

A very dear cousin of his had also presented to the Library of the School a picture representing an episode of the action in which he fell, inscribed with an appropriate legend.

One Sunday, soon after my return, I visited the

School to see the tablet and the picture, and a commemorative sermon was preached by the Head Master. The occasion revived many old memories of my school days, my house and form masters, and the environment and atmosphere of the public school life of the time. These I recounted in an article published in *Macmillan's Magazine* in April 1904. It served to renew many intimacies with the survivors of my old masters and school-fellows, from whom I had been separated for fifty years.

Almost immediately after my return to England I became a Member of Institution of the Gordon Boys' Home. Lady Bruce's sister, Mrs. George Macmillan, had given a memorial window, painted by Mr. Henry Holiday, to be placed in the Chapel of the Home, and on 24th February 1904 a service of dedication was held. The window was described on the occasion in these terms:

"The central idea expressed in the window is that of man equipping himself for the struggles and temptations of life by 'putting on the whole armour of God,' and it was suggested by the characteristics of strength, gentleness, and truth, of purity and courage, which marked Charles Maurice Dundas Bruce throughout his career.

"On the left three angels carry all the parts of 'the whole armour of God'—the breast-plate or

cuirass (which in the East and in early mediæval times was in mail or chain armour), the girdle, the sandals and shield, the helmet and sword. The youth, standing firm, but looking upward for strength, is ready to don his spiritual armour. Behind him is a scroll with the words, 'Put on the whole armour of God.' Beneath his feet is the admonition, 'Withstand in the evil day, and having done all, stand.' On the right two angels bear the crown and palm which await the warrior who 'endureth to the end.' In the upper part of the window seraphs appear between the opened wings of the angels. According to an ancient tradition seraphs—always represented in red—are the symbol of Divine love, and immediately surround the Creator.

"Although material arms may fail, and the sure promise of victory is to the spiritual weapons only, yet the man who leads a pure life and maintains the true Christian spirit in his intercourse with those around him, and who ultimately gives his life in the fulfilment of the duties laid upon him, is a worthy illustration of the spiritual truth expressed in the artist's design. Such a man, as all who knew him can testify, was Captain Bruce, in whose memory this window has been dedicated.

"Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life."

A brass placed beneath the window bears this inscription:

"To the Glory of God, and to the Dear Memory of Charles Maurice Dundas Bruce, Captain, Royal Artillery. Born June 4, 1869. Killed in action Somaliland, April 22, 1903. 'I have kept the Faith.'"

From this time to the day of her death Lady Bruce contributed an annual prize for award on Inspection Day at the Home.

In what I have ventured to call my personal relations with the Crown, the year was marked by very gracious consideration shown me.

Prior to a Levée, Major Gough was decorated with the Victoria Cross by King Edward in person, and I received His Majesty's permission to be in close attendance. When I had passed the presence, my hand was warmly shaken by the Prime Minister, Lord Salisbury, by Lord Knutsford, and other Ministers.

On June 7th I had the honour of being a guest of the Prince of Wales, then Treasurer of Lincoln's Inn, at the Trinity Term Grand Night dinner. After dinner I was presented by His Royal Highness to some of the distinguished guests, and on the 9th I wrote to Lady Bruce:

"The Prince of Wales was very gracious, and

spoke most kindly about Maurice's death. He asked after you also, and was most thoughtful and considerate."

A month later, on 8th July, I was present at a State Ball at Buckingham Palace, and on the next day I wrote to Lady Bruce:

"The Princess of Wales was most gracious, and came down off the dais to shake hands with me. She asked most kindly after you, and spoke most feelingly of dear Maurice."

It is not my intention to record in detail my work in the following years under the impulse of the trinity of forces I have indicated. I shall limit myself to a record of milestones on my journey from the close of my official career to the eightieth year of a strenuous life.

At a meeting of the Colonial Institute on 14th March 1905, the Duke of Marlborough in the Chair, I read a paper on "The Crown Colonies and Places," setting out the principles and policies which had resulted in converting them from areas politically mischievous and commercially useless to areas of the first political and commercial necessity. I traced the application of these principles and policies to problems of government, health, labour, the organisation of industry, transport,

Imperial communications by post and telegraph, finance and defence. Referring to a phrase used by Mr. Chamberlain, I concluded by saying:

"I have sought to illustrate the methods and agencies by which the Colonial Minister, associating himself with the representatives of science, industry, and commerce, has undertaken to realise the full value of our undeveloped estates, not only to the material advantage of the United Kingdom, but in trust for the civilisation of the tropical regions of the earth."

An immediate result of my Address was to bring me into closer association with these representatives, many of whom were present, while some took part in the subsequent discussion—among them Sir Patrick Manson, Sir W. Thiselton Dyer, Director of Kew, and Professor Wyndham Dunstan, Director of the Imperial Institute. Another result was to bring me into closer communication with the American, French and German Governments, not less interested than our own in realising the value of their undeveloped tropical estates. To this I shall refer later.

On 24th May of this year the annual meeting of the Gordon Boys' Home was held at the Mansion House. I was invited to be present and to speak to a Resolution, an invitation which I

willingly accepted. I was at the same time elected a member of the Executive Committee, and thus privileged to take an active share in the management.

On my return to Scotland after my retirement from Colonial Service, memorials of my son were placed in the Episcopal Church of Kinross and affixed to the wall of the family Mausoleum on the shore of Loch Leven. At the commencement of 1905 a monument, consisting of an upright bronze relief set in stone, was erected in the Churchyard of the Parish Church of Portmoak, the Parish in which the family estate of Arnot is situated. On the 30th of June these memorials, which all bore similar inscriptions, and the Gordon Boys' Home memorial, were linked to the Harrow memorial by a visit of His Majesty King Edward to that School. In the course of the proceedings in Speech Room the boys had sung an old Harrovian song, with the refrain:

"Here sir! Here sir! Here sir! Here sir!
On the top of Harrow Hill,
Here sir! Here sir! Here sir! Here sir!
In the windy yard at Bill."

From Speech Room the King and Queen passed into the Chapel, and on the mural tablets erected to the memory of my son and other old Harrovians

who had died for their King and Country read the mute response, "Here sir! Here sir!"

I dealt with the Imperial bearing of Their Majesties' visit in an article contributed to the November number of *Macmillan's Magazine*, under the title of "Our Public Schools and the Empire."

During the whole of the year 1905 I was occupied with the problem of the organisation of the Colonial Office in its relation to the Crown Colonies, and on the 8th of December I addressed a long letter to Lord Elgin on the subject of reorganisation. The principal reform suggested was the reorganisation of the Colonial Office into two departments, one dealing with questions of politics and administration, the other with the development of the material resources of the Colonies. I pointed out that, while the training and experience of the permanent officials qualified them very well to deal with the business of the political department, it was necessary that in the latter department, if we were to compete successfully with foreign colonial enterprise, every question should be dealt with on the principle of applying to its solution the latest results of scientific research. All that was required to carry out this reform was the appointment of the Medical Adviser to the Office,

and the Directors of Kew Gardens and the Imperial Institute to be Assistant Under-Secretaries of State. In order to secure continuity of policy in both the political and economic departments, I proposed the creation of an Advisory Council on the lines of the Council of the Secretary of State for India.

My letter was well received by Lord Elgin, and he sent me a sympathetic reply to it:

"Downing Street,
"17th April 1906.

"Sir,

"I am directed by the Earl of Elgin to convey to you his Lordship's thanks for your letter of the 8th of December last, on the subject of the administration of the Crown Colonies, and to inform you that in dealing with this question he has derived valuable assistance from your observations, which embody the result of a long and varied experience of Colonial administration.

"I am, etc.,
"R. L. ANTROBUS."

In May 1906 I published an article on the subject in the *Empire Review*. It brought me a letter of importance from the Duke of Marlborough:

"Sunderland House,
"Mayfair,
"May 1st, 1906.

"My Dear Sir Charles,

"I am most grateful to you for sending to me your article entitled "The Colonial Office and Crown Colonies." I shall read it like all those other articles which you have written from time to time on Colonial questions with the greatest interest. The point you raise as to whether the Imperial Institute should not be placed under the jurisdiction of the Colonial Office instead of under the Board of Trade is a matter which has long been a source of interest to me. It was a great error of the Trustees of the funds of the '51 Exhibition, into whose hands I fancy the management of the Imperial Institute was placed, to have allowed the Institute to be under the supervision of the B. of T. sooner than under the Colonial Office. Personal feeling played a part in the decision. . . . So the B. of Trade got the control in place of the Colonial Office. I hope that one day this may be changed.

"Again with many thanks for your kindness in remembering that I am always interested in these matters affecting the welfare of our Colonial possessions.

"Believe me, "Yrs. sincerely,

"MARLBOROUGH."

Towards the close of the year, after further study of the position in consultation with the Director, I published in the *British Empire Review* an article on "The Imperial Institute and the Colonial Office," pressing the cogency of the reasons for making the Institute a department of that Office.

I sent a reprint of this article to His Majesty the King, then Prince of Wales, who personally thanked me. Accompanied by the Princess, he visited the Institute, and made an exhaustive examination of its processes. I believe I am justified in saying that his interest exercised a material influence on the future of the Institute.

Throughout the year I continued my correspondence with the American, French and German Embassies on the subject of their systems of Colonial Government. Early in the previous year I had received the following from the American Embassy:

"London, January 20th, 1905.

"Dear Sir,

"With reference to your letter of November 22nd and to mine in reply, I now have pleasure in transmitting to you herewith the copy of a letter from the Acting Secretary of War of the United States to the Secretary of State relative to

your request for information as to Sanitation, Hygiene and other matters pertaining to the Philippines, Porto Rico and Cuba, and I beg to inform you that the Despatch Agent of our Government in London will forward to you the Reports therein referred to.

"You will observe that with respect to Porto Rico we are informed by the Department of State that the Governor of that Island has been asked whether he can supply copies of the latest Reports relating thereto.

"I am, Dear Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"HENRY WHITE."

This letter was followed by the transmission to me of a series of Reports extending over more than a year.

On February 10 I received from Count Bernstorff a letter enclosing an elaborate Memorandum on the scientific investigations of the German tropical Colonies:

"German Embassy,

"9 Carlton House Terrace, S.W.,

"February 10th, 1906.

"Dear Sir Charles,

"I have much pleasure in sending you the enclosed 'Memorandum,' which our Colonial

Attaché drew up for me. If you wish for any more information I shall be delighted to try and get it.

"Yours very sincerely,

"J. BERNSTORFF."

A few days later I received the following from the French Embassy, enclosing two equally elaborate papers on the same subject:

"Ambassade de France à Londres,

"February 28th, 1906.

"Dear Sir,

"We have taken some time in answering your letter. The cause has been that the information you required was not available in our Embassy here. Thanks to the help of Mr. Weber, private secretary to our Colonial Minister, who has been staying in London for the sittings of the Commission about the New Hebrides, I have just received the enclosed papers from our Colonial Office. I think you will find in them the answers to your questions.

"I should feel much obliged if you would kindly return these papers to me when you have done with them. Other questions on the same subject may be placed before the Embassy, and unfortunately our 'Attachés' are now too busy for me to ask them to make a copy of the papers.

"In case you should require further information, I should do my best to get it and send it to you.

"Believe me, Dear Sir,

"Yours most truly,

"H. DE MANNEVILLE,

"Secy., French Embassy."

My election to the Executive Committee of the Gordon Boys' Home naturally led me to study the origin and development of the Institution, and I availed myself of the twenty-first anniversary of Gordon's death, the 26th of January 1906, to take a retrospective view of things accomplished by his agony and death in Khartoum which his life could never have accomplished. It was intimately connected in my mind with the death of my soldier son. And the retrospect is not without interest in the present peril of civilisation and agony of the Christian faith. It was published in the *Empire Review* in March 1906, and reproduced in pamphlet form.

At the outset I indicated the scope of my purpose in these words:

"Much has been written of late in admiration of the soul of nations which have adopted Buddhism or Confucianism as their religion or ethical code. It seems to be overlooked, or little

regarded, that the history of the British Empire forms a continuous narrative of the triumphs of the soul of a Christian nation over the body-politic which has claimed to control its destinies. While the body-politic has been constantly folded up and changed as a vesture, the soul of the nation has never failed to manifest itself at the appointed time in the embodiment of the heroes who have accomplished its destinies. 'If Christ had not died on the Cross, where would have been the atonement?' has been the inspiration of ages. If our martyrs had not laid their heads on the block, suffered at the stake, perished on the field or in exile, where would have been the British Empire? Gordon's journal in Khartoum shows that he steadfastly looked upon his life as a sacrifice to be offered in atonement for the sins of his countrymen in Egypt. 'May our Lord not visit us,' he wrote, 'as a nation for our sins, but may His wrath fall on me, hid in Christ. This is my frequent prayer, and may He spare these people and bring them to peace.'"

After an exposition of what the sacrifice and death of Gordon had accomplished for the union and consolidation of the Empire, I added:

"History affords no example of a mourning so world-wide and so intensely personal as followed

the death of Gordon, and what has been said may suffice to remind us how it entered into the soul of the nation, and has affected the destiny of Africa and of the Empire.

"In England the proposal to establish a national memorial of his life and death was received with enthusiasm, but encountered difficulties. There was a perplexing amplitude of choice in the schemes suggested and adhered to with persistence, while a more serious obstacle was met in political feelings of the moment. It was then that Royalty exhibited one of its noblest uses. Before the influence of Queen Victoria and the energy of our present King, then Prince of Wales, all minor thoughts gave way to the recollection that the noblest of our countrymen had died in the noblest of causes—the defence of the national honour, and it was decided that the best way to perpetuate his memory in England was to perpetuate his work in England.

"And in all the wide range of his labours nothing was more typical of the man than his work in England among a population struggling under a burden of economic pressure hardly less intolerable than slavery itself—a population that, with its vicious, its incapable and its unemployed, lives in a world of disorders which legislation has been constantly engaged in fruitless endeavours to

regulate. To the children born into this unhappy class, confounded from their birth with the basest elements, familiar with suffering and intimate with vice, had been devoted the faith, the energy, the simple honesty of the man whom the nation now desired to honour."

The publication brought me a letter from General Sir George Higginson, which I greatly value:

"28 Lancaster Gate, W.,
"21st March 1906.

"My Dear Sir Charles,

"Though our Secretary, Col. Pownall, has conveyed to you semi-officially the thanks of the Committee of the G. B. Home voted at their last meeting to you, I venture as Chairman to write a *non*-official word or two in acknowledgment of your pamphlet, a proof copy of which you kindly ordered to be sent to us. I feel sure that the importance of keeping Gordon's memory prominent among the subjects which the English race should not forget cannot be too much impressed on the rising generation. You will have contributed largely to this good object, and, indirectly, I have no doubt that the national memorial will reap advantage.

"Pray therefore accept my cordial thanks, and

let me hope that on your return South you will be able to help us frequently at our Committee meetings.

"Believe me,

"Very sincerely yours,

"GEORGE W. HIGGINSON."

It was followed by a welcome letter from the Master of Trinity:

"Grasmere, April 25, 1906.

"Dear Sir Charles Bruce,

"We are *just*, 9 p.m., leaving this place for a night journey to Euston and Cambridge, but I *must* send you these few and too tardy lines of true thanks for your very kind thought in sending me your Address on Gordon. I read it with keen interest and delight. It looks as if his fame as one of the greatest of Christian heroes was firmly established, too firmly to be ever lost sight of. In our lodgings here it was pleasant, as we entered, to see his portrait occupying the principal place on the wall. Our good Landlady has a Son connected with the Engineers, and this has helped to bring the Great Man near to her heart and her imagination. . . .

"Believe me to be,

"Very truly yours,

"H. MONTAGU BUTLER."

A few months later another link was added to the chain of sympathy which bound us to Admiral Sir Archibald Douglas. Lady Douglas died, and he wrote to us:

"Newnham, Winchfield, Hants.,
"30th May /06.

"My Dear Old Friend,

"From the bottom of my heart I thank you and Lady Bruce for your kind sympathy in my sad loss, and well I know how real your sympathy is, coming as it does from you and Lady Bruce, who have had such sad sorrow yourselves. We had been married 37 years, all of that time passed in active service, with some long separations and always the strain and stress of official life. It is hard to be parted when rest and retirement had come, but these things are not arranged for us, but for the best. Again thanking you and Lady Bruce,

"I am ever

"Yours most truly,

"ARCHIBALD DOUGLAS."

From the time of my retirement from the Colonial service I had never ceased to interest myself in the question of Asiatic immigration into

the Crown Colonies and Protectorates. In April 1904, I wrote an article in the *Empire Review* on the employment of Chinese in Natal, which secured the approval of Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, then Secretary of State for the Colonies, with whom I had frequent opportunities of consultation on the subject of the position of British Indians in the Transvaal. On March 31, 1905, Letters Patent were passed creating a Constitution for the Transvaal, generally known as the Lyttelton Constitution. While these Letters Patent conferred representative institutions, they expressly reserved to the Imperial Government all the powers it enjoys under the Crown Colony system for the protection of subjects or residents of non-European birth. But the exercise of these powers led to serious difficulties, and to the abrogation of the Lyttelton Constitution. On December 6, 1906, Letters Patent were issued conferring full responsible government on the Transvaal. On 11th December *The Times* published a letter I wrote on the subject. The result was in accordance with the singular power possessed by *The Times* of promoting the union of persons and societies interested in matters which form the subject of correspondence admitted to its columns. It brought me a letter from the South Africa British Indian Committee:

"28 Queen Anne's Chambers,
"Broadway, Westminster, S.W.,
"11th December 1906.

"Dear Sir,

"I am instructed by my Executive to write to you an expression of their deep appreciation of your lucid communication to the *Times* of this morning.

"As you are perhaps aware, my Committee has been established for the purpose of safeguarding the interests of British Indians in South Africa. . . .

"I am furthermore instructed to invite you to join our body, and hope that you will find nothing in our objects inconsistent with your own views on the subject.

"In view of the warm interest indicated by your letter, I think I may venture to communicate that I have good reasons for believing that the interests of our British Indian fellow-subjects in the Transvaal will not be unreservedly placed at the tender mercy of the new Colonial Government.

"I am,
"Yours faithfully,
"L. W. RITCH,
"Secretary."

From this time I never ceased to take an active part in the work of the Committee, and in January

and April 1907, I contributed two articles to the *Empire Review* in support of its work, under the title of "The Transvaal Constitution and the Colour Question."

In the propaganda of my faith in the consolidation of the component parts of the Empire, North and South, East and West, by the recognition of common interests, I made it my endeavour to bring home to my countrymen, and especially to the working classes, the importance of their interest in our tropical Colonies. My contributions to the press were supplemented by lectures and addresses not only to political and learned associations, but to working men's societies and settlements.

In September 1907, I very willingly accepted an invitation to give a lecture at the Working Men's College in London on "Life and Labour in the Tropics." My main object was to show the interests of the workman of the United Kingdom in the development of tropical Colonies both as markets of supply and demand. The lecture was illustrated by many lantern slides, and I had never addressed a more appreciative audience. Two days later I received a letter of thanks from Sir Charles Lucas, who very appropriately associated his interest in the College with his duties as Under-Secretary of State at the Colonial Office:

"77 St. George's Road, S.W.,
"30 Sept. 07.

"My dear Bruce,

"I must thank you most gratefully for your lecture. It was a very high-class one, and the thought and trouble embodied in it make me all the more grateful. I thought too that the way you emphasised the direct value of the tropical dependencies to the working classes of this country was beyond all praise.

"Please accept my warm thanks.

"I have your letter, and note what you say as to referring to you on the Mauritius incident.

"Yrs. sincerely,
"C. P. LUCAS."

His reference to the "Mauritius incident" illustrated our mutual interest in both areas of activity. I must explain it. In 1904 the Secretary of State, as I have shown, had invited my assistance in a Mauritius incident. In the present incident it was the people of Mauritius who had invited my assistance. On August 10th, 1907, I received a telegram signed by the senior member of the Council of Government in the following terms:

"Elected Members of Council and people of Mauritius, knowing your deep and sincere sym-

pathy for the Colony, beg you may be good enough to represent and defend them (at the) Colonial Office."

The circumstances which prompted this telegram need not be discussed. I at once placed myself at the disposal of the Secretary of State, who was good enough to refer to me the official papers on the subject.

Arising out of this incident, statements were made in the London press, with reference to which I thought it my duty to address a communication to *The Times*:

"Arnot Tower,
"Leslie, Fife,
"Sept. 24, 1907.

"Sir,

"In *The Times* of September 3 and 4 you published communications from a correspondent in Mauritius which constituted a *charge à fond* against the Civil Service and the elected members of the Council of Government of the Colony. Another correspondent has in *The Times* of yesterday supplemented these communications by a letter which is nothing less than an indictment of the whole population. The appearance of these communications in *The Times* can only, I fear, have the effect of increasing the local irritation and the difficulty of the Governor's position.

"You will, I hope, allow me to enter my protest against this general indictment of a community with which I have been long associated, alike in periods of superior fortune and in seasons of quite exceptional adversity. In the circumstances, it did not altogether surprise me to receive from the elected representatives of the Colony a touching appeal for my good offices. I at once communicated it to the Secretary of State, and placed myself unreservedly in his hands."

This letter was telegraphed to Mauritius, and on the 1st of October I received a message of acknowledgment:

"Elective Members on behalf people Mauritius convey heartfelt thanks to you for having defended Mauritian Civil Service themselves population against indictment preferred in London press."

I have a pleasant reminder of this incident in a postcard issued in the Colony with a portrait of myself, over the legend:

"Sir Charles Bruce, G.C.M.G.,
Ancien Gouverneur de l'Ile Maurice
Défenseur des Mauriciens."

On one of these postcards, sent to me through the Colonial Office, a distinguished member of the community had written:

"Avec les vœux de bonheur de tous les Mauriciens, dont vous avez si bien défendu l'honneur."

In January 1908, on the invitation of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, I gave an Address, illustrated by lantern slides, on "The Evolution of the Crown Colony of Mauritius" in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee and Aberdeen. I sent a copy of my Address to the Prince of Wales, through Sir Arthur Bigge, who had been on His Royal Highness' Staff during the visit to Mauritius, and received a gracious reply:

"Marlborough House,
"Pall Mall, S.W.,
"29th February 1908.

"My Dear Sir Charles,

"I have submitted to the Prince of Wales the copy of your Address delivered before the Royal Scottish Geographical Society on the Evolution of the Crown Colony of Mauritius, which you have so kindly sent for His Royal Highness, who looks forward to reading it with much interest. He desires me to also thank you for the kind allusions which you have made to the visit of the Princess and himself to Mauritius.

"Yours very truly,
"Arthur Bigge."

My lecture on Mauritius was followed in February by a lecture on Ceylon on the same lines, delivered at the request of the Victoria League before the Nairnshire Branch of the League. The North of Scotland has very large interests in Ceylon, and there was a representative attendance.

On 29th March I delivered a lecture at the Passmore Edwards Settlement on "The British Workman's Interest in Tropical Colonies." It followed the lines of my lecture at the Working Men's College in the previous year, but I was able to supplement my lantern slides by an exhibition of materials and machinery, kindly supplied by Professor Dunstan of the Imperial Institute. In conclusion I said:

"I have endeavoured, however imperfectly, to illustrate the interests of the British workman in our tropical Colonies. The importance of these interests has, since the expansion of Colonial enterprises undertaken by Continental Europe and the United States of America, led to a formidable struggle for the control of the tropics and a scramble for Africa. In conclusion, I submit to you for your guidance in the conflict a policy which was, some years ago, formulated by or on behalf of a group of British workmen in the following terms:

"'We wish for no artificial advantage for British

industries, neither will we tolerate the operation of artificial subsidies to foreign industries; and, further, we insist that competition upon British markets shall be upon natural conditions for all.'"

In the course of my lecture several working men present expressed their interest in emphatic phrases, and the whole audience enthusiastically applauded the final paragraph, which was exhibited on a lantern slide.

Meanwhile I had contributed to the February number of the *Empire Review* an article on "British Indians in the Transvaal," and continued to take an active interest in the work of the South Africa British Indian Committee. On July 31 I was requested by the Committee to introduce to Lord Crewe, then Secretary of State, a deputation he had consented to receive on the subject of the position of the Indians in South Africa. It was a large and representative deputation, including Lord Reay, the Bishop of Southampton, Mr. Harold Cox, Mr. J. M. Robertson, M.P., Sir Mancherjee Bhownagree, Mr. Gokhalé a member of the Viceroy's Council, and many others. Lord Crewe's reply to our arguments was sympathetic, and later in the day Colonel Seely, then Under-Secretary, made an equally sympathetic speech in the House of Commons on the subject. A few

days after, the Secretary of the Committee wrote to me:

"28 Queen Anne's Chambers,
"Broadway,
"Westminster, S.W.,
"August 4th, 1908.

"Dear Sir Charles Bruce,

"I am desired by the Executive Council to convey to you their warmest thanks for having, at perhaps no inconsiderable inconvenience, contributed so largely to the success of the deputation that waited upon Lord Crewe on Friday last.

"Would you be so kind as to let me have a copy of your speech for purposes of record and publication?

"I am,
"Yours faithfully,
"L. W. RITCH."

In October I contributed a further article on this question to the *Empire Review*, and the two articles were revised and published in pamphlet form and circulated by the Committee. The acknowledgments addressed to me through the Society included letters from the Prime Minister and several other Ministers, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London and other

Bishops, Mr. Chamberlain, and leaders of both political parties in both Houses of Parliament. The question was admittedly one of such importance that the existence of the Empire depended on a settlement.

In the meantime I had been invited by the Governors of St. Thomas's Hospital to distribute the prizes at the Medical School on the 25th of June. After the distribution I gave an Address on "Some Imperial Aspects of the Study of Tropical Medicine." It was published in the *Journal of the Royal Army Medical Corps*. The Order of Proceedings for the day included the following:

"The Treasurer, accompanied by Members of the Grand Committee and by the Staff, will then escort Sir Charles Bruce, G.C.M.G., through the Hospital, and guests are requested not to leave their seats until the procession has quitted the Hall, when it is hoped that all guests will follow and view the Hospital.

"The whole Hospital will be open for inspection.

"Suggested order for viewing the Hospital: Casualty Department, Seymour Ward, Operating Theatres, Clinical Lecture Theatre, Chapel, Clinical Laboratory, Albert Ward, Medical Committee Room, City Ward, X Ray Department, Medical School."

The suggested order was observed, and I have certainly never taken part in a more interesting ceremony. I highly appreciate a letter I received a few days later from the Dean of the School:

"St. Thomas's Hospital,
"Medical School,
"Albert Embankment, S.E.,
"July 29th, 1908.

"Dear Sir Charles Bruce,

"I have just had the opportunity of reporting to the formal meeting of Medical and Surgical Officers and Lecturers of this Hospital the success of our Prize Distribution this year. This success was mainly due to your kindness in distributing the prizes and in giving us so able an Address.

"On behalf of my colleagues I am writing to express to you our unanimous thanks for your valuable services.

"Yours faithfully,
"CUTHBERT S. WALLACE,
"Dean of the Medical School."

On the 8th of July all the endearing associations of my life with Harrow School were revived at the triennial dinner presided over by Mr. Walter Long. I was asked to reply to the toast of "Suc-

cess to Old Harrovians in Church and State" on behalf of "Harrow Beyond the Seas." I gave a brief summary of the work being done by old Harrovians in India and the Crown Colonies. It brought me many congratulations.

On 4th May I had been present at the annual dinner of the Royal Colonial Institute, the Prince of Wales, President of the Institute, being in the Chair. It was an occasion of exceptional interest. The Prince was surrounded by citizens of our oversea dominions, by men who had directed the government of Colonies and Dependencies or were occupying the highest positions in the Colonial service; and yet there was no one present who had landed on so many different points of British soil, or had equal opportunities to appreciate the value of each as a factor in the Imperial system. His opportunities had been twofold; first, in earlier years in the frank communion of a sailor's life; later in the grave confidences of intercourse with responsible statesmen as heir to the Throne and representative of the Sovereign.

After dinner I was presented to His Royal Highness, who referred to his visit to Mauritius, and sent a gracious message to Lady Bruce.

My memories of Mauritius in association with the death of my son had been revived at the commencement of this year by a touching letter from

Sir Arthur Havelock on the occasion of the death of Lady Havelock:

"Bishopstowe,
"Torquay,
"12th January 1908.

"My dear Bruce,

"I feel touched by your and Lady Bruce's sympathy with me. To think of you recalls days of happiness, when we were all four young and full of hope. Then came our second acquaintance with your Bábá. It is pleasant to remember him, and it rejoices me to think that we were allowed an opportunity of trying to be a little kind to the Son of our old friends.

"Yours sincerely,
"A. G. HAVELOCK."

A few weeks later they were again revived. On 17th March I received a telegram from the President of the Chamber of Agriculture, requesting me to render a new service to the Colony in supporting a measure recommended by the Governor. I again placed myself at the disposal of Lord Elgin, who granted me a personal interview after the circumstances in which the appeal was made had been explained to me in the Office.

CHAPTER V

1909 to 1914

The year 1909 was a year of peaceful progress in my pilgrimage. It brought me into closer intimacy with Sir John Henniker Heaton in the work of his life. This was the result of a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute at the close of 1908. In November he read a paper on "Penny-a-word Telegrams throughout the Empire." The Earl of Jersey presided, and the speakers in the discussion which followed included Mr. Lemieux, Postmaster-General of Canada, Mr. Marconi, Lord Strathcona, Dr. Parkin, and representatives of the Legislatures of Queensland and New South Wales. I had been requested by the West India Committee to speak on the subject of cheaper telegraphic communication with the West Indies, the cost of a message to British Guiana at the time being seven shillings a word. I pointed out that while it might be true that the constituent parts of the Empire were mainly held together by material

interests, the *cash-nexus* is not the only relation that links the oversea dominions to each other and to the United Kingdom. Mr. Lemieux, speaking in French, had talked of the appeal of Henniker Heaton's proposal to his *cœur de Français*. I illustrated the use of telegraphy as an instrument of sympathy by cases within my knowledge, and concluded by referring to my personal experience:

"A few years ago, when I was in Mauritius, my Son was engaged in two campaigns in India and two campaigns in Africa. In each campaign we were able, with the assistance of friends, to keep in fairly frequent communication with him by telegrams. And when his last campaign was ended by a soldier's death the telegraph placed us in an environment of sympathy of which only those who have had a similar experience can estimate the value. And this only I will say, that the first message received was a gracious message of sympathy from their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales."

The year was largely devoted to the preparation of my work *The Broad Stone of Empire*, and Henniker Heaton gave me valuable assistance in that part of it dealing with Imperial communications.

Early in 1909 Lord Crewe appointed a Departmental Committee to inquire into the general

question of emigration from British India. I was called as a witness, and at the request of Lord Sanderson, the Chairman, supplemented my evidence by a Memorandum on some points of importance. In a discussion in the House of Lords on the subject of the Inquiry, Lord Sanderson was good enough to say that it had been the work of my life, and the Report did ample justice to my labours in British Guiana and in Mauritius. More particularly in respect of British Guiana the Report confirmed Surgeon-Major Comins' opinion of the value of the *Law to Consolidate and Amend the Law relating to Asiatic Immigrants* which I had passed in 1891. At the outset of their Report the Committee, in acknowledging the assistance they had received, referred to Lord Stanmore and myself as Governors who "in Mauritius, Trinidad, British Guiana, Ceylon and Fiji, had devoted much attention to the improvement of the system for introducing coolie labour, and who since their retirement from office had continued to take an active interest in the matter." When some years later the question was discussed in the Viceroy's Council in India, it was very gratifying to me to find the importance attached to my evidence.

Throughout the year I was active in my advocacy of the cause of the British Indians in South Africa. In February 1909, Lord Ampthill

addressed a letter to the members of both Houses of Parliament on the subject of the British Indians in the Transvaal as a vital question of Empire. On the 27th of the same month "The Native Question of South Africa" formed the subject of an Address delivered by Lord Selborne, High Commissioner for South Africa, before the Congregation of the University of the Cape of Good Hope. In August my assistance was requested by a Delegation from Natal appointed to lay before the Imperial Government the grievances of the British Indians in that Colony. Their letter to me was accompanied by a short statement of the facts of the case. The delegates included the Chairman and Secretary of the Natal Indian Congress. At the close of the year I received a letter from them thanking me for my co-operation:

"38 Longridge Road,
"Earl's Court, S.W.,
"9th December 1909.

"Dear Sir Charles,

"On the eve of my departure from London I wish to be allowed to express to you the grateful and sincere thanks of the Natal Delegation to England for the ready and ungrudging assistance and support that you have given us in connection with our mission to this country. We

are pleased to inform you that, as a result of our persevering efforts since our arrival in London, an intimation has been received by us to the effect that the Natal Parliament has passed an amendment to the Dealers' Licences Act, granting the right of appeal to the Supreme Court to licence holders, a right which was hitherto denied.

"Although this amendment has reference to renewal of licences only, still we view it as a concession which will be received with great satisfaction by our community. With respect to transfer of licences and the grant of new licences there are now great restrictions; but it is hoped that the concession just granted will prove the precursor of a better state of things as regards the other points we refer to. You, Sir, and our other friends in England have helped us greatly in our negotiations with the authorities here, and we fervently hope that your continued assistance to us will in time lead to the removal of all unnecessary restrictions in trade and to amelioration in the condition of our people in Natal. Such assistance and support from you we shall always highly value.

"I have now definitely arranged to leave for South Africa on Saturday, the 11th instant.

"Again conveying to you an expression of the Delegation's heartfelt gratitude for all you have

done for us, and with the greetings of the season,

"I remain, Dear Sir,

"Most sincerely yours,

"M. C. ANGLIA,

"On behalf of the Natal Delegation to England."

I had now spent five years in Scotland, and had interested myself in the mysteries of public and social life, from which my long period of foreign residence and Imperial service had excluded me. I owed to my Imperial services my election as a Director of the Scottish Provident Institution. As Deputy-Lieutenant and Justice of the Peace for Kinross-shire, my ancestral home, I found a new area of activity. I had become a Vice-President of the Tariff Reform League, advocating the importance of reforms from the point of view of the consolidation of the economic interests of the Empire. Another cause which I advocated in season and out of season was the cause of temperance. My colonial experience had convinced me that the artificial disease of intemperance was scarcely less prejudicial to our Imperial interests than the natural diseases that had been the subject of Mr. Chamberlain's solicitudes during his tenure of office as Colonial Secretary. Immedi-

ately after my retirement, on the invitation of Earl Grey, I became a member of the Central Public House Trust Association, and the Association distributed for me throughout the Empire a pamphlet I wrote under the aggressive title of "The Public House as a Centre of Temperance." In no part of the United Kingdom perhaps is temperance reform more necessary than in the mining districts of Fife, to which my home is adjacent, and I have gladly done what it has been in my power to do to help the cause as a licensing justice. I have also warmly interested myself in the Young Men's Christian Association, which it has been my good fortune to support in the island adjuncts of the four Continents. Concurrently, the interest which had attached Lady Bruce and myself to the Colonial Nursing Association, found a new area of activity in the Scottish Branch of the Red Cross Society. As early as 1883 Lady Bruce had gained a certificate of qualification to render "First Aid to the Injured" from the St. John Ambulance Association, and in 1906 she accepted the invitation of the Duchess of Montrose to become President of the Kinross-shire Branch of the Society. At the outset, Red Cross work was practically new to the public, and the necessity was experienced of educating people as to its aims, and bringing home the need for its use. The idea

of war was at that time so remote that the movement found support rather as an agency for the treatment of casualties from accidents in the ordinary routine of agricultural and factory work and mining than of war casualties. Nevertheless, I believe that during the next three years Kinrossshire, partly from the fact that it borders on important mining areas, made much more rapid progress than most of the other counties of Scotland. In 1909 the Scottish Branch of the Society was reorganised. The counties of Clackmannan and Kinross were amalgamated under the Presidency of the Countess of Mar and Kellie, Lady Bruce continuing to hold the office of President of Kinross. The reorganisation had become necessary in consequence of the rapid development of the work of the Society in connection with the Territorial Force. During the year, in order to complete the organisation, a Scottish Council was appointed to manage the affairs of the Branch.

The demise of King Edward in 1910 dominated and subordinated all other interests. I was privileged to pay a tribute to his memory in an article in the *Empire Review*. I devoted myself especially to the work of the King as Peacemaker. After illustrating his activity in our foreign relations, especially in establishing the *Entente* with France, I pointed out that while the King was moulding,

out of traditions and interests that had been abiding forces of separation, links of union in the foreign and internal relations of the Empire, the spirit of discord, cast out from its accustomed areas of activity, had taken refuge in the bosom of political parties in the United Kingdom. The nation was divided against itself. The exasperated passions of class, creed and race—even of sex—threatened to destroy the legacy the King had designed to bequeath to the Empire. Then he died; and in a moment the mute appeal of the great Peacemaker touched the conscience of the nation and silenced the clamours of faction.

In October the death of Prince Francis of Teck evoked from the Empire fresh tokens of sympathy with the Royal mourners. It revived our memory of Their Majesties' sympathy with us on the death of our soldier son, and Lady Bruce and I wrote to Sir Arthur Bigge:

"Arnot Tower,
"Leslie, Fife,
"October 24, 1910.

"Dear Sir Arthur Bigge,

"In a great sorrow of our lives, on the death of our Son, we received from Their Majesties the King and Queen a gracious message of sympathy. In ever grateful memory we ask to

be allowed to offer to Their Majesties an expression of our sympathy in the sad loss they have suffered by the death of His Serene Highness Prince Francis of Teck.

"We are,

"Yours very truly,

"CHAS. BRUCE."

"CLARA BRUCE."

We received a gracious reply:

"Marlborough House,

"Pall Mall, S.W.,

"25th October 1910.

"Dear Sir Charles,

"The King and Queen are greatly touched by your kind words of sympathy in their fresh sorrow, and command me to thank you and Lady Bruce sincerely.

"Yours very truly,

"ARTHUR BIGGE."

In November the work to which I had devoted five years of strenuous labour, *The Broad Stone of Empire*, was published. It contains chapters or groups of chapters on the Colonial Office and the Colonial Governor, on Local Government, on Law,

Labour, Race, Health, Education, Religion, Agriculture, Forestry, Commerce, Transport, Imperial Communications, Finance, Expansion, Defence, and, finally, the Crown as a link of Empire. In the compilation of this work I had been assisted by the most eminent authorities I could consult, and I attach particular value to an Appendix, in which the systems of law obtaining in every one of the Crown Colonies are exhibited, by Mr. Edward Manson, one of the Editors of the *Journal of the Society of Comparative Legislation*. As far as I am aware, the information contained in this Appendix had never before been summarised. Nor do I know any other volume from which it can be obtained. The King was pleased to accept a copy of my work. It brought me many congratulations from men of eminence at home and abroad, and was favourably reviewed in the leading organs of public opinion throughout the Empire. It brought me two communications which revived pleasant memories of my connection half a century before with America and Russia. From the University of Yale I received letters of congratulation from survivors of my fellow-collegians. From St. Petersburg I received a letter from the Imperial Academy which I need hardly say I value highly:

"le 28 Janvier 1911.

"Monsieur,

"L'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg m'a chargé de vous présenter ses sincères remerciements pour l'aimable envoi de votre ouvrage intéressant: *The Broad Stone of Empire*.

"Votre aimable lettre nous rappelle au temps quand le regretté O. Böhtlingk présentait votre travail à l'Académie.

"Comme sanscritiste je tiens à noter que ce travail fut accepté très favorablement par les spécialistes et il n'est qu'à regretter pour l'étude du sanscrit, que vous n'ayez point continué des travaux si brillamment commencés.

"Agréez, Monsieur, l'assurance de mon profond estime et de ma considération distinguée.

"SERGE D'OLDENBURG."

While my book was in the press an incident I had not contemplated supplied a fresh link in the chain of sympathy which bound me to Mauritius. In 1909 a Royal Commission was sent to the Colony with wide powers, the immediate issue being its financial position. When the Report of the Commission came into my hands, Lord Elgin, who had consulted me on the financial question, had been succeeded by Lord Crewe. I requested

him to give me an opportunity to reply to some parts of the evidence which directly concerned myself. His reply was that he could not find in the Report anything in the nature of a personal attack on myself, and that he did not "think it necessary to trouble me" (a grand official formula) by calling on me for a defence of my policy. I was to learn later that when the Report was received in Mauritius, the unofficial members of the legislature had adopted a similar course, and had moved a resolution "that the Council request that before carrying out any of the recommendations of the Commission the Secretary of State may be pleased to give the Council an opportunity to make known their views." A Memorial to the Secretary of State from the Chamber of Agriculture followed. But the action of the Colony met with no more success than my own. I adopted what seemed the only possible course. *The Broad Stone of Empire*, though printed, had not yet been published, so I drew up my reply to the Report of the Commission and had it printed as an Appendix to my work. At the same time I transmitted a revised proof to the Colony, where it was published in full. In this document I summed up the recommendations of the Commission in these terms:

"The Commission now advise that, as an

appropriate method of commemorating the centenary of British rule, the policy of a hundred years should be abandoned in favour of a policy which is its direct negation. The Mauritian community are to be excluded from the highest appointments of trust and responsibility; the educational system constructed to train them to a capacity to hold such appointments is to be destroyed. The declared opinion of the Chairman is in favour of withdrawing support from the religious agencies which have been the auxiliaries of education. The Boards, constructed in the spirit of the municipal institutions of the United Kingdom, and which served as schools of training in the arts of administration, are to be abolished. The policy of later years, which has recognised the health of the people as the foundation of a capable community, and has made it a matter of the first concern to reduce the death-rate and to engage the public opinion of the community as an ally and auxiliary of government in the exercise of the policy, is to be succeeded by a policy the avowed purpose of which is to override the public sentiment.

"A study of the Report and evidence make it clear that the principal recommendations of the Commission are in favour of restoring methods of administration which have been tried and deliber-

ately abandoned because they have failed. Certainly not the least extraordinary among these is the recommendation that in a community from whose memory the methods of slavery have not yet faded away—in a community penetrated with a sense of gratitude for redemption from those methods—the use of corporal punishment is to be restored as a cheap and drastic agent and instrument of the new policy."

The publication of my review of the Report brought me letters of congratulation and thanks from representatives of every section of the community.

In 1910 the demise of King Edward had concentrated all Imperial and national interests. In 1911 they moved in a circle round the Coronation of King George. Among the documents which will, I hope, be preserved as an heirloom in our family is the card of invitation "To be present at the Abbey Church of Westminster on the 22nd day of June," sent to Lady Bruce and myself by the Earl Marshal *By Command of the King*. At the Coronation of King Edward we had been unable to accept a similar invitation because the Secretary of State for the Colonies had thought that a critical state of affairs demanded my presence as His Majesty's representative in Mauri-

tius. On this occasion we had the honour of being present, an honour which, as it did not flow out of hereditary qualification, I felt entitled to consider as the reward of a long life of service to the Crown.

Within a few days I had a welcome opportunity to make public profession of the principles and policies by which my services had been guided and guarded.

In response to the invitation of the Victoria Institute, I delivered an Address at the Annual Summer Meeting of the Institute on 26th June on "The True Temper of Empire." Taking my text from Bacon's *Essay of Empire*, I defined the true temper of Empire as a temper which "mingles wisely and in fit proportions" the sovereignty of the central authority with the liberties of the constituent areas. Submitting as a self-evident proposition that the existence of the British Empire depends on a recognition of the United Kingdom as the seat of a sovereign authority, and on the methods of exercise of this authority in relation to the Dominions, India, and the Crown Colonies, I proceeded to discuss the true temper of Empire in the exercise of this authority in politics, economics and defence. In the term 'politics' I included all that relates to executive, legislative and social functions; in the term 'economics' all

that relates to the development and distribution of natural resources; in the term 'defence' all that relates to maintenance of internal order and protection against foreign aggression. I concluded in these words:

"It is always perilous to mark off history into epochs fixed by accession of sovereigns, but I venture to fix the date from which the true temper of Empire has been kept without solution of continuity by the Sovereign of the British Empire as the date of the Coronation of Queen Victoria. The Coronation of King George and Queen Mary may be accepted as a ceremonial trial and assay of the perpetuity of the temper."

My Address was corollary to a Loyal Address to Their Majesties the King and Queen adopted at the meeting, signed on behalf of the Council and Members of the Institute by the President, Lord Halsbury:

"The Members and Associates of the Victoria Institute or Philosophical Society of Great Britain, assembled on the occasion of their Annual Summer Meeting, and within a few days of the Coronation of His Majesty King George V. and of Her Majesty Queen Mary, desire humbly to assure Their Majesties of their deep and loyal devotion, and to express the hope that Their Majesties' reign, now so auspiciously begun, may be marked by

the progress of philosophical and scientific thought hand in hand, with a deep reverence for the Great Truths of Holy Scripture, and that Their Majesties may ever reign in the hearts of a thoughtful and Christian people."

In July Lady Bruce and I were honoured by invitations to be present at the Coronation ceremonials in Scotland. They included the Dedication of the Chapel of the Order of the Thistle, a Levée, a Court, a Garden Party and a Dinner. On the occasion of the Dinner, the many gracious proofs of Their Majesties' remembrance and sympathy we had received since their visit to Mauritius were renewed. Her Majesty spoke to Lady Bruce of her recollections of a visit to Loch Leven, intimately connected with my ancestral home and memories of my soldier son.

Within a few days of the Scottish ceremonials I had an opportunity of developing a principal point of my Address at the Victoria Institute, in an essay on "The Modern Conscience in Relation to the Treatment of Dependent Peoples and Communities," communicated to the First Universal Congress of Races opened in the great hall of the University of London on 26th July. The object of the Congress was to discuss, in the light of science and the modern conscience, the general relations subsisting between the peoples of the

West and those of the East, "with a view to encouraging between them a fuller understanding, the most friendly feelings and a heartier co-operation." The method adopted was to invite representatives of East and West to submit their views in a series of papers on the problems of social political life common to all civilisations, but which East and West, Orient and Occident, have attempted to solve by diversity of process having its origin in diversity of environment. The papers and the opinions set out in them were submitted as the basis of discussion at the sessions of the Congress, and exhibited an altogether unexpected unity of motive and purpose among the contributors. This unity was maintained throughout the sessional discussions. Every speech and every phrase acclaimed was a profession of faith on the part of representatives of the West in the Christian formula, "Do unto others as ye would they should do unto you," and on the part of representatives of the East in the corollary formula accepted at a period long anterior to Christianity, "Do nothing to others which you do not wish they should do to you." Either formula is an expression of the fundamental principle underlying the policy of British rule in Asia. In conclusion, I submitted that in the treatment of dependent peoples and communities the modern conscience rejects as a

fallacy the claim of Western civilisation to a monopoly of the capacity of self-government based on an indivisible interrelation between European descent, Christianity, and the so-called white colour. It recognises that while this interrelation has evolved a capacity for self-government in an appropriate environment, a similar capacity has been evolved by an interrelation of other races, creeds and colours appropriate to other environments. It maintains, therefore, that the conflict between West and East must be adjusted on the same principle that has adjusted the conflicts of race and creed in the West, the principle of freedom interpreted as liberty of person and conscience and equality of opportunity for all, without distinction of race, creed, or colour, under a settled government.

History, reason, and recent experience in Japan warn us that the adjustment must be made not in the spirit of the popular refrain, "East is East and West is West," but in the spirit of a nobler poetic formula—

"God's is the Occident,
God's is the Orient."

The date of the Congress was happily opportune, falling within the interval between the central ceremonies of the Coronation in West-

minster, with its subsidiary ceremonials in Ireland, Wales and Scotland, and the contemplated Coronation Durbar in India.

In anticipation of the Coronation Durbar, I had been invited by the Northern Newspaper Syndicate to write an essay on "What the Coronation Durbar means to India." Through the agency of the Syndicate it was widely circulated, and I have reason to hope that it contributed something to a more general appreciation of the political and economic interdependence of the component parts of the Empire. One result of the Coronation ceremonies in the United Kingdom had been to concentrate men's thoughts on the local traditions of Ireland, Wales and Scotland, and the anticipation of the Durbar had already led to concentration on the traditions of India. The aim of my essay was to recall that the traditions of the sixteenth century in England in their association with self-government, presented a singular analogy to the traditions of the sixteenth century in India. I illustrated this analogy by a comparison of the principles and policies of the reign of Akbar, the most illustrious of the Moghul Emperors, from 1556 to 1605, with the principles and policies of the nearly coincident Elizabethan Era, and I proceeded to illustrate their consistency with the principles and policies of the Victorian Era.

Referring to the function of the Crown to be exercised by the Queen in reconciling the conceptions of East and West in respect of the place of women in civil and domestic life, I concluded as follows:

"An Indian writer has drawn attention to the significance of the presence in England of Indian ladies, as the Maharani of Baroda and the Begum of Bhopal, in connection with the Coronation ceremonies in London. While giving a charming picture of the home life and activities of Indian *purdah* ladies, he rightly emphasises the interest they have taken in all their observant eyes have seen through their veils as an indication that women are taking their place side by side with men in the great work that has to be done to their mutual aid and strengthening. In the same spirit the present position of woman in the West and in the East was discussed at the Universal Races Congress held in England shortly after the Coronation. It was urged that the woman of the East is already engaged in a process of self-transformation which can only end by endowing her with a full measure of civic and intellectual personality.

"At the Coronation Durbar Queen-Empress Mary's gracious presence will be a symbol of conciliation between the *purdah* ladies, and the religion underlying their system, and the mem-

sahib, and the religion underlying her life of social service—the *purdah* ladies satisfied with their home for the centre of their activities and the material of their mental and emotional development, the mem-sahib illustrating by her daily life and example the conception of social service as the basis of ascendancy."

Semper amari aliquid. In the harmony of the Empire during the Coronation ceremonials there was one discordant note. The Nationalist Party in Ireland issued a manifesto in which they declared that, ever since the foundation of the United Irish Party in 1880, it had been their settled practice and rule to isolate themselves from all demonstrations of loyalty, participation in which might be taken as a proof that Ireland is satisfied with or acquiesces willingly in the system of government under which she has lived since the Union. Adhering to this rule, they refused to associate themselves with the other representatives of the component parts of the Empire on the occasion of the Coronation of King George V. The manifesto closed with a declaration that when the day shall come that the King will enter the Irish capital to reopen the ancient Parliament of Ireland he will obtain from the Irish people a reception as enthusiastic as ever welcomed a British monarch in any part of his dominions.

Confident in my belief in the possibility of such a day, I wrote in the April number of the *British Empire Review* an article on "Ireland's Place in the British Empire." After a summary of the history of the English in Ireland for seven hundred years, I advocated the solution of the Irish Problem on the federal principle. By Federalism I mean a large devolution of local powers to local legislatures under a strengthened central authority not only claiming nominal authority but equipped with effective control. I still believe that by Federalism Ireland may be converted from a centre for the propaganda of disloyalty and disintegration to a centre for the propaganda of union and loyalty, and that the day will come when the King will be welcomed in the capital of Ireland with a reception as enthusiastic as ever welcomed a British monarch in any part of his dominions.

Among many assurances of sympathy with the principles I advocated, I received a letter of encouragement from Mr. John Redmond:

"House of Commons,
"11th April 1911.

"Dear Sir Charles,

"I am much obliged to you for your courtesy in sending me a copy of the *British Empire Review*, containing your article on Ire-

land's place in the British Empire. I have read the article with much interest, and in view of the interest which you appear to take in this matter, I have taken the liberty of asking my colleague, Mr. Stephen Gwynn, M.P., to communicate with you, as he may be in a position to place at your disposal some literature which may be of some use to you.

"With kind regards and many thanks,

"Believe me,

"Very truly yours,

"J. E. REDMOND."

Mr. Stephen Gwynn was good enough to realise Mr. Redmond's hopes, and himself published an article drawing particular attention to my summary of the history of the English in Ireland.

The year 1912 was a year of comparative rest after the activities of 1911. In February I published in a volume entitled *The True Temper of Empire* the more important of my addresses and essays of the previous year, revised and adapted to the new form of publication. It was reviewed as widely and as flatteringly as my *Broad Stone of Empire*. The King was pleased to accept a copy, and a gracious acknowledgment was made to me through Lord Stamfordham:

"Buckingham Palace,
"21st February 1912.

"My dear Sir Charles,

"I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th February and the accompanying copy of your Book *The True Temper of Empire*, which I have laid before the King. In reply I am commanded to convey to you the expression of His Majesty's best thanks for the same.

"Yours very truly,
"STAMFORDHAM."

The publication led to a request for a contribution to the *African Times and Orient Review*, and on 4th May the Editor wrote to me:

"2 and 3 Eldon Street,
"London, E.C.,
"iv.v.1912.

"Dear Sir Charles Bruce,

"I cannot thank you sufficiently for your encouraging contribution, which I shall be delighted to publish in our symposium, notwithstanding its length.

"I shall ever keep your kind and able suggestions before me.

"Would to Heaven there were more Britons

of your way of thinking; there would then be no cause for friction or racial enmity.

"Assuring you that I shall ever do my utmost to merit your rich opinion,

"I am, Sir,

"Your obt. servant,

"DUSE MOHAMED, Ed."

Early in the year, on the invitation of the Duke of Devonshire, President of the British Empire League, I had joined a Committee to make arrangements for giving Sir John Henniker Heaton a Public Welcome on his return from a visit to Australia, and present him with an Album in which were inscribed over a thousand signatures. The preface to the Album concluded in these terms:

"In the annals of our time that which you have striven to obtain for those who are far sundered by sea and land will stand out as one of the most precious blessings of civilisation. Governments and Commerce reap from it an abundant harvest of profit and convenience, but that which will commend it not least both to yourself and to the historian of the future is the fact that the poorest and humblest in every clime are the chief gainers by cheap and speedy communications."

Attached to the Album were expressions of

appreciation by many of the signatories, and I wrote the following:

"For a quarter of a century Sir Henniker Heaton has devoted himself to the task of linking by the ties of mutual interests and interdependence the trinity of forces that underlie the unity of British Imperialism. Briefly, they are the affection for the old country expressed in the song 'Auld Lang Syne'; the economic interests that demand possession and power and find pride of expression in 'Rule Britannia'; and the sentiment of loyalty to the Crown expressed in the National Anthem. The Imperial penny postage system represented the triumph of these forces over the exigencies of party politics and the *vis inertiæ* of bureaucracy. It was logically followed by Sir Henniker Heaton's determination to bring the Oversea Dominions of the Crown into simultaneous action with the heart of the Empire, by the mechanism of a nervous system of land, marine and air telegraphy, and so to supplement the Imperial penny postage rate by an Imperial penny-a-word telegram rate. May the success of the earlier enterprise be an earnest of triumph in the new endeavour."

The presentation took place at the Guildhall on 11th June, Earl Curzon of Kedleston presiding.

In June Their Majesties honoured Harrow

School with their presence on Speech Day. Lady Bruce and I were guests of the Head Master on this occasion. The proceedings were similar to those on the occasion of King Edward's visit in 1905. At the door of the Chapel the King spoke to me with his usual consideration, and a few days later the Head Master wrote:

"The Head Master's,
"Harrow,
"June 19, '12.

"Dear Sir Charles Bruce,

"Thank you so much for writing. It is so pleasant to know that it was thought to be such a success, and so kind of you to take the trouble to write and say so.

"I showed their Majesties the drawing of your Son's sad but glorious death in the Vaughan Library; and I think you will like to know they had not at all forgotten, and were much interested with the memento of it.

"Yours v. truly,
"LIONEL FORD."

Later in the year, Maurice and Rolland, associated in the drawing in the Vaughan Library, were again associated in a memorial erected in the Church of Monte Carlo by Rolland's mother, and bearing this inscription:

To the dear memory of
MAJOR GEORGE MURRAY ROLLAND, V.C.,
only son of
Major Patrick Murray Rolland, R.A.,
and of his wife Albinia (nata Crofton).
He won the Victoria Cross in Somaliland
for the rescue
of his mortally wounded comrade,
Captain Bruce, R.A., eldest son of
Sir Charles and Lady Bruce.

Both Harrovians, lovely and pleasant
in their lives—in death re-united.

On 22nd November, in St. Paul's Cathedral, the fixing of my Banner over my Stall in the Chapel of St. Michael and St. George took place with the customary ceremonies. The ceremonial had a singular interest in family memories it recalled. On the 5th of June 1795 it was resolved in the House of Commons

"That a humble address be presented to His Majesty, that he will be graciously pleased that a monument be erected in the Cathedral of St. Paul's, London, to the memory of Major-General Thomas Dundas, as a testimony of the grateful sense entertained by this House of the eminent services which he rendered to his country, particu-

larly in the reduction of the French West Indian Islands, and which occasioned a gross insult to his remains in the Island of Guadeloupe."

Major-General Thomas Dundas was my great-grandfather, and after the ceremonial, a visit was paid to the monument.

In 1913 I was for some time prostrated by illness, and unable to fulfil many engagements in connection with the work of the societies and agencies with which I had been in co-operation since my retirement from official service. Our relations with Germany were now strained, and I may here interrupt my narrative to give a brief summary of my endeavours from the date of my retirement in the cause of peace.

In June 1904 I contributed to the *Empire Review* an article on "The Political Relations of Great Britain with France and Germany." Anglo-French relations had during the previous twelve months passed through three stages—a period of *rapprochement*, marked by the visits of King Edward to France, and of President Loubet to England; a period of increasing purpose marked by the Agreement, providing for the settlement by arbitration of certain classes of questions which might arise between the two countries, signed in London on 14th October 1903; and a period of *entente* marked by the Agreements and Declara-

tions of 8th April 1904. I concluded with an expression of hope, which I reproduce in full:

"The isolation of Germany cannot long continue without inconvenience to the peace of Europe; a *rapprochement* with England, in the way of which there can be no insuperable obstacle, might well smooth the road for a *rapprochement* with France, and the peace of Europe would be secured. Then—but certainly not till then—the question of reduction of armaments may come within the horizon of practical politics. Lord Lansdowne, in his Despatch of April 8th, points out that the movement in favour of a settlement of all differences between Great Britain and France received a powerful impetus from the visit paid to France by His Majesty King Edward VII, and by the return visit of President Loubet. It is not too much to hope that before long a similar and not less powerful impetus may be given to the realisation of Lord Lansdowne's wish that the Anglo-French Agreement may afford a precedent which other nations may follow, and so contribute to the maintenance of international good-will and the preservation of the general peace. Within the last few days we have learnt that the King has accepted an invitation to visit the German Emperor at Kiel, and we may presume that the visit will be returned. Granting that these visits may have no

political object, a grateful country cannot be unmindful of all that followed His Majesty's visits to nations of the Latin race, and is permitted to look forward with confidence to an early establishment of friendly relations with Germany, not only without prejudice to our *entente* with France, but with the sympathy and goodwill of all the great powers of the Latin race."

The article was favourably noticed in Germany, and later in the year I received a message from Count Bernstorff asking me to call at the Embassy on my next visit to London. On my visit he gave me a message from Prince von Bülow thanking me for my article, and expressing a hope that I would continue to advocate the cause of peaceful relations. In October I received an invitation to dine with Count Bernstorff. I met some members of the Austrian Embassy, and had a very pleasant opportunity to revive recollections of my years of residence in Germany and Austria. Soon after I received an invitation from the Editor of the *Deutsche Revue* to contribute an article. In December my first contribution appeared, entitled *Was wird England für den Frieden tun?* The question immediately at issue was whether the good offices of England and Germany might be exercised to restore peace between Russia and Japan. In July 1905 I contributed an article

under the heading *Ist ein Krieg zwischen England und Deutschland möglich?* and in December an article entitled *Grossbritannien und Deutschland; der Sieg des gesunden Menschenverstandes.* On December 4 Count Bernstorff wrote to me:

"German Embassy,
"9 Carlton House Terrace, S.W.,
"December 4th, 1905.

"Dear Sir Charles,

"Many thanks for sending me the excellent article you contributed to the *Deutsche Revue.* You will have read the Ambassador's speech. I think matters are really looking better."

"Believe me,

"Yours sincerely,
"J. BERNSTORFF."

In 1906 Count Bernstorff was appointed Consul-General for Germany in Egypt, and in a letter of congratulation I expressed a hope that he might be able in his new office to render powerful support to the cause of peace. He replied:

"20 Grosvenor Gardens,
"London, S.W.,
"March 9th, 1906.

"Dear Sir Charles,

"Many thanks for your kind letter and congratulations. It was so very good of you to

think of writing. My appointment is not yet officially published, so I shall in every case still remain here for weeks, perhaps even for months. We therefore hope to see you before we leave London.

"Countess Bernstorff joins me in kindest regards.

"Yours very sincerely,

"J. BERNSTORFF."

It was some time before I made any further contribution to the *Deutsche Revue*, but I joined the British-German Friendship Society, and became an active associate in the propaganda of the National Peace Council and its allied Associations. But the more actively I exerted myself in the cause of peace, the more convinced I became that peace depended mainly on the supremacy of British Sea Power, and in this sense I contributed an article to the *Deutsche Revue* in October 1912 on *Die Englische Flotte als Werkzeug des Weltfriedens*. An English translation of this article was published by the British-German Friendship Society. At the same time I called attention in the English press to the danger of relying on what I called "an Army of Recruits which could only be considered a *quantité négligeable* as enemies or allies."

In April 1913 I contributed a further article on

Eine Brücke zwischen der Tripelentente und dem Dreibund. I argued that the only means of saving Europe from the danger of years of unrest and the burden of constantly increasing armaments was a bridge between the Triple Alliance and the Triple Entente, and that such a bridge could only be constructed by an understanding between the two most powerful partners on each side.

In March 1914 I made my last contribution to the cause of peace in an article in the *Deutsche Revue, Die Englisch-Deutschen Beziehungen und der Weltfriede.* In this I invited particular attention to a speech made at Newcastle by the German Ambassador, Prince Lichnowsky, a few days before my article was published, in which he said:

"It has ever been my wish to tread in the footsteps of my predecessors and to cherish the spirit of friendship which has enabled our two powerful nations to look back on centuries of undisturbed peace and friendly activity, for I am firmly convinced that by means of a complete and mutual understanding, and a still better realisation of the possibilities of a peaceful development, our peaceful relations will be maintained for ever."

I believe that the verdict of history will be that on the outbreak of war only those were entitled to consider that they had done their whole duty to the Empire who had been equally active in their

endeavours to secure the maintenance of peace and adequate preparation for war. I count myself among the number of those who, through half a century of public and private life, have in this respect acquitted themselves of the whole duty of man.

On the outbreak of war it was a matter of supreme satisfaction to myself and to the survivors among my contemporaries in the service of the Crown in these territories to watch the unanimity and vigour of their rally to the defence of the Empire, and the generosity of their contributions to the requirements of the war in men, money and materials. I made this the theme of an article in the *Edinburgh Review* in October 1915, and availed myself of the occasion to set out once more the principles and policies which had brought about this result.

CHAPTER VI

NEARING JORDAN

My main object in writing these pages has been to illustrate the interrelations between a Father and Mother to whom it was given to live a long life in the service of the Empire, the Peoples among whom they laboured, a Son who died, and a King for whom they lived and he died. To what has been said of the sympathy arising out of these relations I will only add a brief record of the sympathy accorded to me on the occasion of Lady Bruce's death.

Lady Bruce, who had been in failing health for some time, lived to have the memories of our son's death recalled by the death in action in the Great War of Major-General Gough, V.C. She died in Edinburgh on 15th April 1916, and was buried in the family mausoleum on the shore of Loch Leven. The gracious sympathy of Their Majesties was conveyed to me in a letter from Lord Stamfordham:

"Buckingham Palace,
"17th April 1916.

"Dear Sir Charles Bruce,

"The King and Queen are grieved to hear of the sad loss which has befallen you, and offer you the expression of their true sympathy.

"Their Majesties will never forget the kind hospitality which they received from Lady Bruce and yourself on the occasion of their visit to Mauritius nearly fifteen years ago.

"Yours very truly,
"STAMFORDHAM."

The funeral was the occasion of many demonstrations of affection on the part of representatives of our hereditary association with the counties of Kinross, Clackmannan and Fife. From the Minutes of a Meeting of the Clackmannan and Kinross Branch of the Red Cross Society the following extract was communicated to me:

"Lady Mar made a kindly and touching reference to the loss the Branch had sustained in the death of Lady Bruce, who became President of Kinross-shire in 1906, when the Red Cross Society was started, and who took a very keen and helpful interest in all matters connected with Red Cross work. At the funeral the Red Cross was represented by your Secretary, and the Voluntary Aid

Detachments by the Senior Commandant Men's V.A.D., the Senior Commandant Women's V.A.D., one member from each Women's V.A.D. in Kinross-shire, two men from K/1 V.A.D., and two patients from Tillyrie Hospital, under command of the Director. Wreaths were sent by the Clackmannan and Kinross-shire Branch and by the Kinross-shire V.A.D. Headquarters in Glasgow wrote: 'We regret very much to hear of the death of Lady Bruce. We are sure it will be a great loss to the County.'

"The Secretary was instructed to convey the sincere sympathy of Lady Mar and the Committee to Sir Charles Bruce."

From the Parish Minister of Leslie, Fife, then on active service, I received the following letter:

"British Expeditionary Force,
"France, 27th April 1916.

"My Dear Sir Charles,

"I had a letter yesterday from home, in which my Wife conveyed the sad news of the demise of Lady Bruce. I cannot tell you how sorry I am. She will be greatly missed not only by yourself and family, but by the whole community. I shall ever remember her kindness to myself and Cadet Corps that day we visited Arnot

Tower. It was a great day in the lives of my boys, and they have often spoken to me of it.

"I desire to offer you my sincerest sympathy, and my earnest prayer is that our Heavenly Father will give you abundantly of His grace and consolation in your sore bereavement.

"I have been doing work with the Y.M.C.A. among the troops out here in France since the beginning of the month, and will return home the first week in July.

"Again expressing my deep sympathy, and with warmest regards,

"Yours very sincerely,

"J. Robertson Macgregor."

This was one of many letters received from relatives and friends on service in the Western and Eastern war zones, from Persia and Egypt.

From the Colonies I received, and continued to receive for many weeks, letters of condolence and sympathy. In June I received the following communication from the Colonial Office:

"Downing Street,

"19th June 1916.

"Sir,

"I am directed by Mr. Secretary Bonar Law to convey to you, at the request of the Governor of Mauritius, an expression of regret

and sympathy on behalf of the Council of Government and people of Mauritius on the melancholy occasion of the death of Lady Bruce.

"I am, Sir,
"Your obedient servant,
"G. GRINDLE."

As regards my own activities in war time, I had already, a year earlier, expressed their limitations in a letter to *The Times*:

"Arnot Tower,
"Leslie, Fife,
"June 21, 1915.

"Sir,

"I have this day remitted to *The Times* my subscription for the coming year. I have now been a subscriber to *The Times* for 64 years, and my present subscription will, if I live, cover the 80th year of my life. My long official career in different parts of the world has taught me to look on *The Times* as a great national and Imperial asset. In the present war the Hesiodic division of labour, *ἔργα νεῶν βουλαί τε μεσῶν εὖχαι τε γερόντων*, limits me to my prayers. And in none of my prayers am I more earnest than in praying that acting in the spirit of its great traditions the influence of *The Times* may never cease to be exercised in favour of 'peace with honour.'"

No letter that I have written to *The Times* has ever brought me so many acknowledgments and assurances of assent. They ranged from a post-card written on the top of a London omnibus to letters from the remotest parts of the Empire.

It was followed by a corollary letter in these terms:

"Arnot Tower,
"Leslie, Fife,
"Oct. 19, 1915.

"Sir,

"May I be allowed a word of concurrence with the opinions of Lord Bryce and Sir Edward Clarke on the policy of air raid reprisals? A few weeks ago you allowed me to give expression to my prayer that the influence of *The Times* may never cease to be exercised in favour of 'peace with honour.' May I not add the corollary prayer that the influence of *The Times* may never cease to be exercised in favour of 'war with honour'? In this war we claim, I believe justly, that the Lord is on our side; are we to fear a rupture of the alliance if we carry it on with honour?"

The limitations of age have not, however, debarred me from the privilege of response to appeals for my sympathy and counsel. Towards the close of the year 1915 the Anti-Slavery and

Aborigines Protection Society invited my counsel and co-operation in some matters in which the native communities of Africa and Asia are prejudiced by the operation of causes having their origin in the war. A corollary question arising out of the war was the place to be given to native races in the discussion of peace terms. I was also invited to join a Committee formed to watch the proceedings before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in an action brought to determine the rights of the native occupants of unalienated lands in Rhodesia.

My co-operation with the Society in another matter of importance arose out of the riots which broke out in Ceylon on the 28th of May 1915. In October I received the following letter from Mr. Perera, a Sinhalese, an Advocate of the Supreme Court of Ceylon, and a Barrister-at-Law of the Middle Temple:

"5 Pump Court,
"Temple, E.C.,
"6th October 1915.

"Dear Sir,

"I feel it my duty to acquaint you with what is happening in Ceylon, as an Official who always sympathised with the Sinhalese people.

"I am sending you a copy of the letter and the Memorandum of facts which I forwarded to the

Secretary of State for the Colonies a short time ago, with the reply I received from him, together with a letter I addressed to a public man who is interested in the question, and to an ex-Ceylon Governor. They will shew you how matters stand.

"Will you be pleased to grant me an interview at any hour and place convenient to you, in order that I may take your advice on this matter, which vitally affects my fellow-countrymen.

"I remain,

"Yours faithfully,

"EDWARD W. PERERA."

I was unable to go to London, but sent a sympathetic reply, expressing my confident hope that justice would be done. This letter was followed by several further communications, including a letter addressed to me by Mr. Perera and Mr. D. B. Jayatilaka:

"5 Pump Court,

"Temple, London, E.C.,

"18th January 1916.

"Sir,

"We have the honour to enclose for your sympathetic consideration a Note on the recent riots in Ceylon and the repressive measures taken by the Colonial Government under Martial Law.

It is a brief summary of a Memorial presented by the Sinhalese people to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. As the representatives of a small but ancient race, with an historic past, consistently loyal to the British Crown, we appeal to you for your kind intervention to secure for us right and redress. The Sinhalese are most anxious to obtain an impartial Enquiry by Commissioners from England; it is the only remedy now left, as an Order of Council of 12th August 1915 has indemnified the acts of the Ceylon Authorities.

"We remain, Sir,

"Yours faithfully,

"EDWARD W. PERERA,

"D. B. JAYATILAKA,

"Sinhalese Delegates from Ceylon."

The activity of the Society was not without a measure of success. In July I received a letter from the Secretary enclosing a communication received from the Colonial Office:

"Downing Street,

"21st July 1916.

"Sir,

"I am directed by Mr. Secretary Bonar Law to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 13th of July, relative to the enquiries to be

made into Court Martial cases in Ceylon, and to inform you that the Governor of Ceylon has announced that he will personally investigate any cases brought to his notice, by petition or otherwise, in which it is alleged that innocent persons have been convicted of offences connected with the late disturbances.

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"H. J. READ."

There will still remain the question whether the Government of Ceylon adequately discharged the duty which is the paramount function of Crown Colony administration,—the duty of prompt action on the first signs of unrest arising from racial or religious difference, in order to prevent the unrest from breaking into open conflict. In this respect the Ceylon riots present a striking analogy to the recent rebellion in Ireland.

At the outbreak of war my son, Thomas Francis Hope Bruce, born in Mauritius on 5th January 1873, had served over eighteen years in the Office of the Crown Agents for the Colonies, and has continued to devote himself to his duties with the increasing assiduity that the war has imposed on every branch of the public service.

My youngest son, Eldred Henry Home Bruce,

was born in Mauritius on 28th April 1874. Immediately on the outbreak of the war, he anticipated that the motor cycle would be likely to play a not unimportant part in the work of military communication. On the 5th of August, the day following the declaration of war, he submitted his views on the methods of motor cycle use and service, and placed himself at the disposal of the authorities for territorial service in the United Kingdom. On the next day the services of cyclists were invited by public notification, and my son was accepted as Lance-Corporal in the Highland Cyclists' Battalion, commanded by the Earl of Rothes. On the 6th of September he was promoted Corporal, having in the meantime been selected for special duty. It would be difficult to over-estimate the responsibility of the command assigned to the Earl of Rothes, demanding indefatigable energy and vigilance, and the exercise of constant discretion and tact. My son's services were on the 14th November rewarded by promotion to the rank of Captain.

I will not close this narrative of my memories without an appreciation of Lady Bruce's character as my helpmate on my progress from this world to the next. From first to last she was guided by the spirit of the true maternity in her relations to our

children and grandchildren. In the long periods of separation from our sons, enforced by the duties of my public career, this spirit found a natural and ever-widening area of expansion in devotion to the children of others and practical sympathy with every living thing that appealed for protection from the accidents of nature or the designs of man. A very gallant Admiral once said to her, "Lady Bruce, if you have a vacancy for a dog, please consider me a candidate."

At the time of her death one who knew her intimately wrote :—"The record of a life lived in care and thought for others, of unswerving devotion to those who depended on her, of faith and loyalty, of trouble and suffering nobly faced and nobly surmounted, the memory of her beauty and charm and wit, her many deeds of unselfish kindness, and all that went to make up the pure gold of her character refined through suffering, these things will live in our hearts, as green as to-day, while we live. But I doubt if anything will do justice to her noble qualities, hidden sometimes by the nervous strain of pain and weakness and its outward manifestation, but always there to answer any call on her help or her courage. In her example and character she has left to her grandchildren a priceless inheritance which whatever befall them should help them to rise to it and to

find that in quietness and confidence shall be their strength."

Towards the close of her life she found her ideal in the person of Cecilia de Noël in the romance of Lanoe Falconer. And I feel that I cannot do better than apply to Lady Bruce the appreciation of Cecilia portrayed by Mrs. Molyneux in these terms:

"Ever since I have known Cecilia I have always felt that if all the world failed this would be left. Not that I really imagined the world would fail me, but you know how one imagines things, how one asks oneself questions. If I was like this, if I was like that, what should I do? I used to say to myself, if the very worst happened to me, if I was ill of some loathsome disease from which everybody shrank away, or if my mind was unhinged and I was tempted with horrible temptations like I have read about, I would go to Cecilia. She would not turn from me; she would run to meet me as the father in the parable did, not because I was her friend, but because I was in trouble. All who are in trouble are Cecilia's friends, and she feels to them just as other people feel towards their own children. And I could tell her everything, show her everything. Others feel the same; I have heard them say so—men as well as women. I know why—Cecilia's

pity is so reverent, so pure. A great London doctor said to me once, 'Remember, nothing is shocking or disgusting to a doctor.' That is like Cecilia. No suffering could ever be disgusting or shocking to Cecilia, nor ridiculous, nor grotesque. The more humiliating it was, the more pitiful it would be to her. Anything that suffers is sacred to Cecilia. She would comfort, as if she went on her knees to one ; and her touch on one's wounds, one's ugliest wounds, would be like,"—she hesitated and looked about her in quest of a comparison, then, pointing to a picture over the door, a picture of the Magdalene, kissing the bleeding feet upon the Cross, ended, "like that."

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